1744

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. DXLII.

JANUARY, 1902.

THE MYSTERY OF JUSTICE.

BY MAURICE MAETERLINCK.

I.

In a former essay I referred to Napoleon's three crowning acts of injustice: the three celebrated crimes that were so fatal to his own fortune. The first was the murder of the Duc d'Enghien, condemned by order, without trial or proof, and executed in the trenches of Vincennes: an assassination that sowed insatiable hatred and vengeance around the path of the erring dictator. Then, the detestable intrigues whereby he lured the too trustful, easy-going Bourbons to Bayonne, that he might rob them of their hereditary crown; and the horrible war that ensued, a war that not only cost the lives of three hundred thousand men, but that swallowed up all the morality, energy, prestige of the Empire, and brought eclipse to its hitherto prosperous destiny. And lastly, the frightful, unpardonable Russian campaign, which culminated in disaster to his fortune among the ice of the Beresina and the snowbound Polish steppes. I remarked at the time:

"There were innumerable causes for these prodigious catastrophes; but, when we have slowly picked our way through all the more or less unforeseen circumstances and accidents, marked the gradual change in Napoleon's character, the acts of violence, impru-

VOL. CLXXIV.—NO. 542.

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dence and folly of which this man of genius was guilty; when we have seen how deliberately he brought disaster to his smiling fortune—may we not almost imagine that we behold, erect at the very fountain-head of calamity, the silent shadow of misunderstood human Justice? Human Justice, with nothing of the supernatural, nothing very mysterious, but built up of many thousand very real little incidents, many thousand falsehoods, many thousand little acts of wrongdoing and consequent retaliation; human Justice, and not a power that suddenly, at some tragic moment, leaped forth like Minerva of old, fully armed, from the formidable, despotic brow of Destiny. In all this, there is but one thing of mystery, and that is the eternal presence of human Justice; but we are aware that the nature of man is very mysterious. Let this mystery for the present detain us. It is the most certain of all, it is the profoundest, it is the most helpful, it is the only one that will never paralyze our energy for good. And though this patient, vigilant shadow be not as clearly defined in every life as it was in Napoleon's, though Justice be not always as active or as undeniable, we shall none the less do wisely to study a case like this whenever opportunity offers. It will at least give rise to doubt and stimulate inquiry; and these things are of greater worth than the idle, short-sighted denial or affirmation that we so often permit ourselves; for in all questions of this kind it is less important to prove than to arouse attention, to create a certain grave, courageous respect for all that yet remains unexplained in the actions of men, in their subjection to what appear to be general laws, and in the results that ensue."

II.

Let us now consider how this great mystery of Justice does truly and effectively work itself out in man. The heart of him who is guilty of an unjust act becomes the scene of ineffaceable drama, the supreme drama of human nature, which grows the more dangerous, and the deadlier, in the degree that the man is greater and of wider knowledge.

A Napoleon will say to himself, at such troubled moments, that the morality of a great life cannot be as simple as that of an ordinary one, and that an active, powerful will has rights denied to the will that is feeble and sluggish. He will hold that he may the more legitimately sweep aside certain conscientious scruples, inasmuch as his disregard for these is not due to ignorance or weakness, but to the fact that he views them from a standpoint higher than that of the majority of men; and, further, that his aim is grand and glorious, and this passing, deliberate callousness of his, therefore, truly a victory won by his force and his intellect, since there can be no danger in doing wrong when it is done by one who knows that he does it and why. These arguments, however, cannot destroy what is deepest in our nature. An

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act of injustice must always shatter the confidence that a man had in himself and in his destiny; at a given moment, and that generally of the gravest, he ceases to rely upon himself alone; and this will never be forgotten, nor will he henceforth ever again be wholly himself. He has confused and probably corrupted his fortune by the introduction of strange forces. He has lost the exact sense of his personality and his power. He no longer clearly distinguishes between what is his own and due to himself, and what he is constantly borrowing from the pernicious collaborators whom his weakness has summoned. He has ceased to be the general who has none but disciplined soldiers in the army of his thoughts; he becomes the usurping chief around whom are only accomplices. His is no longer the dignity of the man who scorns the glory at which his heart must smile sadly, as an unhappy lover smiles at the woman who has deceived him.

The man who is truly strong examines with eager care the praise and advantages that his actions have won for him, and silently rejects whatever exceeds a certain line that he has traced in his consciousness. And the stronger he is, the more nearly will this line approach the one that has already been drawn by the secret truth that lies at the bottom of all things. An act of injustice is almost always a confession of weakness, and there need be but very few such confessions to reveal to the enemy the most vulnerable spot of the soul. To commit an unjust deed that we may gain some small measure of glory, or that we may save the little we have, is to confess to ourselves that we do not merit what we desire or what we possess, and that the part we have sought to play is beyond our powers of loyal fulfilment. To this part, however, we none the less cling most anxiously, and thus do errors, phantoms and illusions make their entrance into our lives.

And at last, after a few falsehoods, a few acts of deceit, of treachery, of culpable self-indulgence, the survey of our past life can only discourage, whereas we need that it should sustain us. In this past alone do we truly know ourselves; this only in our moments of doubt can come to us and say: "Since you have been able to do this thing, it shall lie in your power to do that thing also. When that danger confronted you, when you writhed in that terrible grief, you had faith in yourself and you conquered. To-day, the circumstances are the same. Do you but preserve

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your faith in yourself, and your star will be constant." But what answer shall we make when our past can only whisper: "Your success hitherto has been solely due to injustice and falsehood, wherefore it behooves you once again to deceive and to lie." It can afford no man satisfaction to let his eyes rest on ancient acts of disloyalty, weakness or treachery; and all the events of bygone days which we cannot contemplate calmly and peacefully, deriving therefrom satisfaction and hopeful strength, trouble and limit the horizon which the days that are not yet are forming far away. It is only a prolonged survey of the past that gives to the eye the strength it needs to look into the future.

III.

No, it was not the inherent Justice of things that punished Napoleon for his three great acts of injustice, or that will punish us, in a manner less startling perhaps, but not less painful. Nor was it an incorruptible, irresponsible Justice, "reaching to the vault of the sky," and forever steadfastly pursuing its own immovable course. Punishment befalls us for the reason that the entire moral being of man, his mind and his character are incapable of living and acting except in Justice. Leaving that, we leave our natural element; we are transplanted, as it were, to a planet of which we know nothing, where the ground slips from under our feet and all disconcerts us; for, while the humblest intellect feels itself at home in Justice, and can readily foretell the consequences of every just act, the most profound and penetrating mind loses its way hopelessly in the injustice that itself has created, and can form no conception of the results that shall ensue. The man of genius who renounces the equity dear to the humblest peasant will find all paths strange to him, and these will be stranger still should he overstep the limit his own sense of Justice imposes; for the Justice that soars aloft, keeping pace with the intellect, establishes new boundaries around all it discovers, besides strengthening and rendering more insurmountable still the ancient barriers of instinct. The moment we cross the primitive frontier of equity all things seem to fail us; one falsehood gives birth to a hundred, and treachery returns by a thousand channels. If Justice be in us, we may march along boldly, for there are certain things to which the basest cannot be false; but if injustice possess us, we must beware of the justest of men,

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since there are things to which it is impossible they should be faithful. As our physical organism was devised for existence in the atmosphere of our globe, so is our moral organism devised for existence in Justice. Every faculty craves for it, and is more intimately concerned with it than with light or heat, or the laws of gravitation; and to throw ourselves into injustice is to plunge headlong into the hostile and the unknown. All that is in us has been placed there with a view to Justice; all things tend thither and urge us towards it; whereas, when we harbor injustice, we are battling against our own strength; and, at the hour of inevitable punishment, when, prostrate, weeping and penitent, we recognize that events in revolt, the sky, the universe, the invisible, are all justly in league against us, then may we truly say, not that these are or ever have been just, but that we, notwithstanding ourselves, have contrived to remain just even in injustice.

IV.

We say that nature is absolutely indifferent to our morality, and that were this morality to command us to kill our neighbor, or to do him the utmost possible harm, Nature would aid us in this no less than in our endeavor to comfort or serve him. She would seem to reward us as often for having made him suffer as for our acts of goodness towards him. Does this give us the right to conclude that Nature has no morality—using the word in its most limited sense as meaning the logical, inevitable subordination of things to the accomplishment of a general mission? That is a question to which it were wise not to reply too hastily. We know nothing of Nature's aim, or whether she have an aim. We know nothing of her consciousness, or whether she have a consciousness; of her thoughts, or whether she think at all. It is with her deeds and her manner of doing that we are solely concerned. And in these we find the same contradiction between our morality and Nature's mode of action as exists between our conscience and the instincts that Nature has planted within us. For this conscience, although in ultimate analysis due to her also, has nevertheless been shaped by ourselves; and opposes, as it advances step by step with human morality, an ever stronger resistance to the desires of our instinct. Were we only to listen to these desires, we should be acting in all things as Nature acts; for she, be wars never so inexcusable, injustice or cruelty never so

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flagrant, is forever proclaiming the right of the stronger, the victory of the least scrupulous and best equipped. Our one object would be our own personal triumph, and we should pay not the slightest heed to the rights or sufferings of our victims, to their innocence or beauty, their moral or intellectual superiority. But, in that case, why should Nature have placed within us a conscience and a sense of Justice which have prevented us from desiring those things that she desires? Or is it we ourselves who have placed them there? Are we capable of deriving from within us something that is not in Nature, capable of giving abnormal development to a force at war with her force? And if we possess this power, has not Nature her own reasons for permitting us to possess it? Why should these two irreconcilable tendencies, incessantly at strife, and each alternately victorious, exist only in us, and nowhere else in the world? Would the one have been too dangerous without the other? Would it have passed beyond its goal perhaps? Would the desire for conquest, unchecked by a sense of Justice, have led to annihilation, as a sense of Justice without the desire for conquest might have led to inertia? But which of these two tendencies is the more natural and necessary; which is the narrower and which the vaster? Which is provisional and which eternal? Who shall tell us which one we should combat and which encourage? Should we conform to the law that is incontestably the more general, or should our heart cling to the one that is often quite exceptional? Can circumstances exist that give us the right to act in accordance with the apparent ideal of life? Is it our duty to have regard to the morality of the species or race, which seems irresistible to us, and stands forth as a clear revelation of one of Nature's obscure, unknown intentions; or is it essential that the individual should maintain and develop within him a morality entirely opposed to that of the race or species whereof he forms a part?

V.

Here indeed, in another form, we are once more confronted by the question which lies at the root of evolutionary morality, and is perhaps scientifically unsolvable. Reject the word as it may, evolutionary morality is based on the Justice of Nature, that saddles each individual with the good and evil consequences of his own nature and his own actions. And when, on the other hand,

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this evolutionary morality seeks to justify actions which, although intrinsically unjust, are essential for the prosperity of the race, it falls back on what it reluctantly terms Nature's indifference or injustice. Two unknown aims are here, that of humanity and that of Nature; apparently irreconcilable, wrapped as they are in a mystery that may some day perhaps pass away. In point of fact, all these questions resolve themselves into one, which is the gravest by far of our contemporary morality. The race would appear to be becoming conscious—prematurely it may be, and perhaps disastrously—not, we will say, of its rights, for that problem is still in suspense, but of the fact that morality does not enter into certain actions which go to make history.

This disquieting consciousness would seem to be slowly invading individual life. Thrice, and almost in the course of one year, have we seen this question leap forth and assume vast proportions: America's crushing defeat of Spain (though here the issues were confused, for Spain had too long been heaping blunder on blunder, thereby complicating the problem); the case of an innocent man sacrificed to the preponderating interests of his country; and the iniquitous war of the Transvaal. The phenomenon, however, is not absolutely new. Man has always endeavored to justify his injustice; and when human justice offered him no excuse or pretext, he found in the will of the gods a law superior to the justice of man. But our excuse or pretext of to-day threatens our morality the more, inasmuch as it is based on a law, or at least a habit, of Nature, far more real, incontestable and universal than the will of an ephemeral and local god.

Which will prevail in the end, justice or force? Does force contain an unknown justice that will absorb our human justice; or is the feeling which seems to resist blind force actually no more than a devious emanation from that force; does it tend to the same good, and is it only the point of deviation that escapes us? This is not a question that we can answer, since we ourselves form part of the mystery we seek to solve; the reply can only come from one who should gaze down upon us from the heights of another world, who should know the aims of the universe and the destiny of man. In the meanwhile, if we say Nature is right, we say that the instinct of Justice, which she has placed in us, and which therefore also is Nature, is wrong, whereas if we approve this instinct, our approval is necessarily derived from the very object that we are calling in question.

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VI.

That is true. But it is no less true that the desire to sum up the world in a syllogism is one of the oldest and vainest habits of men. In the region of the unknown and unknowable, logic-chopping has its perils; and here it would seem that almost all our doubts flow from another hazardous syllogism. We tell ourselves, boldly at times, but more often in a whisper, that we are Nature's children, and bound, therefore, in all things to conform to her laws and abide by her example. And since Nature regards Justice with indifference, since she has another aim, which is the sustaining, the renewing, the incessant development of life, it follows that—. So far we have not formulated the conclusion, or, at least, it has not yet dared openly to force its way into our morality; but, although its influence has hitherto only been remotely felt in that familiar sphere which includes our family, our friends and our own immediate surroundings, it is slowly penetrating into that vast and desolate region to which we relegate our unknown, unseen neighbor—him who for us has no name. It is already to be found at the root of many of our actions; it has entered our politics, our industry, our commerce, indeed, it affects almost all we do from the moment we emerge from the narrow circle of our domestic hearth—the only place, for the majority of mankind, where a little veritable Justice still obtains, a little benevolence, a little love. It will call itself economic or social law, evolution, competition, struggle for life; it will masquerade under a thousand names, forever perpetrating the self-same wrong.

And yet there can be nothing less legitimate than such a conclusion. Apart from the fact that we might with equal justification reverse the syllogism, and cause it to declare that there must be a certain justice in Nature, since we, her children, are just, we need only consider it as it stands to realize how doubtful and contestable is one at least of its two premises. Nature does not appear to be just in her dealings with mankind; but we have absolutely no means of judging whether she is just as regards herself. The fact that she pays no heed to the morality of our actions does not warrant the inference that she has no morality, or that our morality is the only one there can be. We are entitled to say that she is indifferent whether our intentions be good or evil, but

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we have no right to conclude therefrom that she is destitute of all morality or equity, for that would be tantamount to affirming that there are no more mysteries or secrets, and that we know all the laws of the universe, its origin and its end. Her mode of action is different from our own, but, I say it once more, we know nothing of what her reason may be for acting in that different manner; and we have no right to imitate what appear to us to be cruel and iniquitous actions so long as we have no precise knowledge of the profound and salutary reasons that may underlie them. What is the aim of Nature? Whither do the worlds tend that stretch across Eternity? Where does conscience begin, and is its only form that which it assumes in ourselves? At what point do physical laws become moral laws? Is life unintelligent? Have we sounded all the depths of Nature, and is it only in our cerebro-spinal system that she becomes mind? Finally, what is Justice when viewed from other heights? Is the intention necessarily at its centre, and can no regions exist where intention no longer shall count? We should have to answer these questions, and many others, before we can decide whether Nature is just in her dealings with masses whose vastness corresponds with her own. She disposes of a future, a space, whereof we have no idea, wherein there exists, it may be, a Justice proportioned to her duration, her extent and her aim, even as our instinct of Justice is proportioned to the duration and narrow circle of our own life. She may for centuries commit a wrong that she has centuries in which to repair; but we, with our few days before us, lack the quality to imitate what our eye cannot embrace, understand or follow. Look away from the passing hour, and what standard have we whereby to judge her? For instance, even apart from the immensity that surrounds us, considering only the imperceptible speck that we are in the worlds, we are wholly ignorant of all that concerns a possible life beyond the tomb; and forget that, in the present state of our knowledge, nothing authorizes us to deny the existence of a sort of more or less conscious, responsible after-life; nor would such an after-life necessarily be subject to the decisions of an external will. He were very rash indeed who should assert that nothing survives in us, or in others, of the struggles of our will and the acquirements of our brain. It may be—and serious experiments, though they have proved nothing, do yet allow us to rank this among scien-

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tific possibilities—it may be that a part of our personality, our nervous force, may resist dissolution. How vast a future would then be thrown open to the laws that unite cause and effect, and that must always end by creating Justice when they come into touch with the human soul, and have centuries ahead of them! Before we declare that Nature is not just, let us at least remember that she is logical; and should we determine to be unjust, the difficulty still will be that we must also be logical; and, when logic comes into contact with our thoughts and feelings, our intentions and passions, what is there that differentiates it from Justice?

VII.

Let us not too hastily form a conclusion; there is so much that still is uncertain. Should we seek to imitate what we term the injustice of Nature, we should run the risk of imitating and fostering only the injustice that is in ourselves. When we say that Nature is unjust, we are in effect complaining of her indifference to our little virtues, our little intentions, our little deeds of heroism; and it is our vanity far more than our sense of equity that considers itself aggrieved. Our morality is proportioned to our stature and our narrow destiny, and we have no right to forsake it because it is not on the scale of the immensity and the infinite destiny of the universe.

And, further, should it even be proved that Nature is unjust on all points, the other question remains intact—whether the command be laid upon man to follow Nature in her injustice. Here we shall do well to let our own conscience speak, rather than listen to a voice so formidable that we hear not a word it utters, and are not even certain whether words there be. Reason and instinct tell us that it is well to follow the counsels of Nature, but they warn us not to follow these counsels when they clash with another instinct within us, and one not less profound: the instinct of what is just and what unjust. And if instincts do indeed draw very near to the truth of Nature, and must be respected by us in the degree of the force that is in them, this one is perhaps the strongest of all, for it has struggled alone against all the others combined, and still persists within us. Nor is this the hour to reject it. Until other certitudes reach us, it behooves us, who are men, to continue just in the human plan and in the human sphere. Let us not venture into the abyss

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whence races and peoples to come may, perhaps, find the issue, but into which man, in so far as he is man, must not seek to penetrate. The injustice of Nature ends by becoming Justice for the race; she has time before her, she can wait, her injustice is of her girth. But for us it is too overwhelming, and our days are too few. Let us be satisfied that force should reign in the universe, but equity in our heart. Though the race be irresistibly, and perhaps justly, unjust, though even the crowd appear possessed of rights denied to the isolated man, and commit, on occasions, great, inevitable and salutary crimes, it is still the duty of each individual of the race, of every man in the crowd, to remain just, while ever adding to and sustaining the conscience within him. Nor shall we be entitled to abandon this duty till all the reasons of the great apparent injustice be known to us; for those that are given us now, preservation of the species, reproduction and selection of the stronger, of the abler, of the "fitter," are not sufficient to warrant so frightful a change. Let each one try by all means to become the strongest, the most skilful, the ablest at handling the difficulties of the life he cannot transform; but, so far, the qualities that shall enable him to conquer, that shall give the fullest play to his moral power and intelligence, and shall make him truly the happiest, most skilful, the strongest and "fittest"—these quaities are precisely the ones that are the most human, the most honorable and the most just.

MAURICE MAETERLINCK.

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POLITICAL ASPECT OF CUBA'S ECONOMIC DISTRESS.

BY JOSIAH QUINCY.

THE close connection under modern conditions between economics and politics has rarely been more strikingly illustrated than by the present phase of the Cuban question. For three years our representatives have been dealing with the Island from a political standpoint, assuming that good government would bring with it the stability and prosperity essential to make Cuban independence even a hopeful experiment. They have only recently discovered that economic conditions and relations are of more fundamental importance than administrative improvements—that tariffs made at Washington have an even more vital connection with the future of Cuba than constitutions framed at Havana. The thoroughness with which this simple truth has at length been grasped by our executive authorities, and the commendable zeal which they are now showing in inculcating it, may partially excuse their tardiness in arriving at it.

But the consequences of this delay are surely serious enough; for the question of tariff concessions to Cuba has become one of extreme urgency before there is any Cuban government to deal with on a basis of reciprocity, yet when the inauguration of such a government is so near as to afford a plausible excuse for a fatal delay. The coincidence between the establishment of the nominal political independence of Cuba, and the discovery of her very real commercial dependence upon us, is certainly an unfortunate one. It would seem as if a reasonable degree of foresight might have avoided it, and that a Cuban government should have been instituted either sooner or later—not at the very moment of an economic crisis.

The excellent and authoritative article by Mr. E. A. Atkins in

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the last number of the REVIEW, under the alarming but accurate title "Cuba's Imminent Bankruptcy," leaves nothing to be said as to the economic side of the historic Cuban problem in its newest form. But a brief discussion of the present situation from the political standpoint, and especially from the point of view which the present writer believes that the Democratic party should take, may be of timely interest as a complement to the treatment of the commercial issue. For, if economic considerations determine what Congress ought to do, political forces and arguments are more apt to decide what it will do.

The attitude and language of Secretary Root in meeting the crisis certainly leave nothing to be desired. It is fortunate, alike for Cuba and for our own country, that at this critical stage of their relations a man of his breadth of mind and courage has official charge of these relations and of their presentation to Congress. President Roosevelt fully shares the convictions of his Secretary of War, and evidently proposes to throw the whole weight of his Administration into the scale to avert the impending commercial ruin of Cuba. This, again, is most fortunate, and will bring about some relief, if any influence can do so. On the other hand, there is clearly a very powerful combination of interests, both in Congress and on the outside, to prevent any change whatever in the present tariff, and particularly to block any action in the direction of reciprocity. Moreover, the political influence of the growers of sugar beets and the manufacturers of beet sugar—to say nothing of the Louisiana growers of sugar cane—has increased very greatly in recent years, with the growth of that industry and its establishment in many States; and this special interest alone—which, from a selfish standpoint, has every reason to offer a determined opposition to the free entry of Cuban sugar—may well prove potent enough to prevent any action, even of a temporary character. On the whole, the outlook for the Cuban sugar planter is very doubtful, if not discouraging.

But, as anything beyond temporary relief at the best is apparently out of the question pending the establishment of the Cuban government, we may well look ahead to the real issue which underlies the whole situation—the issue which may have to be ignored officially on both sides for a short time longer, but which is none the less the *crux* of the whole matter. As the economic question in Cuba, dependent upon her external rela-

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tions, is now seen to be of even greater importance than the political question of her internal government, so this economic issue is, in turn, swallowed up in—because it is included by—the larger political question of the annexation of the Island to the United States. With her incorporation into this country with the full rights of a State or of an organized Territory—including, of course, the right of freedom of trade within the limits of the Union—the economic question would be settled for Cuba, completely and finally; any other settlement must be partial and temporary. Whether or not the alliterative alternative between annexation and anarchy is a true statement of the only choice which the situation offers, there can be little doubt that every important consideration points to the former outcome as the best one now possible, both for the Cubans and for ourselves.

The present situation at Washington indicates that it may be necessary, a little later, for Cuba to play her last card, by asking for annexation, before she can win the rich economic stakes for which she is contending. Peace, plenty and happiness are the real objects sought by her people; her form of government, whether independent in the fullest sense or only within the wide limits allowed to a State of our Union—whether flying its own flag or under the stars and stripes—is only a means to these ends. If they can better be attained—and this can hardly admit of doubt—by the freedom of trade with this country which annexation, and nothing short of annexation, will bring—by the confidence which this will give to capital and the stimulus which it will offer to immigration—then Cuba should be wise and enlightened enough to grasp the substance of prosperity and liberty as an autonomous State, rather than cling to the shadow of national independence at the sacrifice of all her material interests. The only question is whether she will be governed by sense or by sentiment—by the reasonable judgment which has won for the English-speaking peoples their commanding position in the world, or by the impracticable idealism which has too often been the bane of the Latin races.

But it is said by some that the so-called Teller resolution precludes this country from annexing Cuba, with or without the consent of the people of the Island. The writer has always believed, with ex-Secretary Olney, to quote from a magazine article from his pen published in March, 1900, that this resolu-

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tion, "ill-advised and futile at the time of its passage, if now influential at all, is simply prejudicing the interests of Cuba and the United States alike; no such resolution can refute the logic of the undisputed facts, or should be allowed to impede the natural march of events." That it is an embarrassing element in a delicate situation cannot be denied; that it is not and cannot be allowed to be the decisive factor is equally clear. The Congress that passed this resolution—which cannot have the binding force either of a constitutional amendment or of a treaty, though often treated as if it had the highest political sanctity—had no power to fix the future action of this country by an expression of pious intention.

Without such a resolution we should not deal unjustly or harshly by the Cubans, or annex them without their own consent; in spite of it we are not bound to exclude any policy which may be found for the best interest both of the people of the Island and of ourselves. If annexation is the outcome indicated by every dictate of statesmanship and of mutual interest, the dead hand of the Fifty-fifth Congress cannot hold us back from it. Moreover, the declaration by Congress of an assumed national intention "to leave the government and future of the Island to its people" after its pacification, cannot preclude them, as they were in no way bound by its terms, from seeking their economic salvation through political union with us; and it surely ought not to prevent us from granting them what is probably the essential condition of permanent pacification.

Further, if the Teller resolution ever had any binding force, it has been superseded by subsequent action taken by us and acquiesced in by the Cubans; and even if their acquiescence was given only under political duress, it is now one of the facts of the situation. This resolution disclaimed "any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction or control" over the Island except for its pacification; yet, under the provisions of the so-called Platt amendment, we are to exercise important rights of sovereignty, large jurisdiction, and very real control over the Island. The free Cuba dreamed of by her revolutionary leaders —an independent and sovereign international state—has been definitely abandoned, and we are to have instead a Cuba of limited powers, under an American protectorate, none the less real in fact because nowhere called by that name.

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Our control over Cuban finance and sanitation under the provisions of the Platt amendment is practically whatever we choose to make it; our rights of intervention are of the broadest character, and we are to have all necessary naval and coaling stations. In short, our recognized relation to Cuba is to be very similar to the actual relation of Great Britain to Egypt. Cuba is to have, in several important respects, less than the rights of self-government possessed by a State of the Union; and our rights of control, which would be exercised by the President alone if Congress were not in session, leave her without the constitutional safeguards which protect the rights of our States from federal encroachment. Her flag will be but the emblem of autonomy; for independent nationality and full sovereignty she will not possess.

How, then, is political union, so desirable both from a Cuban and from an American standpoint, to come about? It can now come only after the establishment of a Cuban government; and it is, doubtless, desirable from a sentimental standpoint that such a government should be inaugurated, however short its life may be, as well as necessary from a practical standpoint that all due forms of negotiation should be gone through before the consummation is reached. We should do everything in our power to regard the sensibilities of the weaker party in effecting this union, and to respect that sentiment in favor of a free Cuba for which her sons have sacrificed so much. We should allow Cuba to reach the conclusion that annexation is best for her in her own time and in her own way, provided that the law and order for which we shall still be responsible be maintained in the meantime. But if we, from our side, and regarding our own interests, believe that voluntary annexation is the only satisfactory and permanent solution of the problem which has vexed our statesmanship for generations, there is no reason why we should grant as a permanent and free gift, to a quasi-independent Cuba, those commercial advantages which would constitute one of her chief inducements for seeking political incorporation with us.

In this matter we should distinguish clearly between our temporary duties to a dependent Cuba, under our military control, and our future obligations toward a Cuba with her own government. This year's crop of sugar cane will be gathered and ground substantially, if not wholly, under our rule; we are still responsible for the situation, and every consideration

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of national honor calls upon us to relieve Cuba by remitting at least a large part, better the whole, of our tariff duties upon the present crop. If we fail to do so, and commercial disaster comes to Cuba in consequence, it will justly bring reproach, if not disgrace, upon our name. But when a Cuban government is once fairly established, and the people of the Island have had time to negotiate with us, through such a government, upon all questions affecting their economic and political status—when we have divested ourselves of the position of trustees for them, and can deal with them more or less at arms' length and as an independent contracting party—then the situation will be quite different. We can then set what political price we please upon the privilege of free access to our markets. Therefore, the writer, although a supporter of the principle of free trade, can see no reason why those who believe in the manifest advantages of Cuban annexation should surrender in advance, especially when our fixed national policy is protectionist, the most potent influence for bringing Cuban opinion to support political union.

If, after breaking by force of arms the political tie between Cuba and Spain, we should deny to the Island, so closely united to us geographically and so dependent upon us commercially, the privilege of political union with us—which we have already substantially accorded to Porto Rico, upon considerations by no means as strong—we should, indeed, be acting an ungenerous and odious part. That such a union may bring with it new problems and difficulties, even dangers, goes without saying, and we need not, therefore, too strongly condemn the conservative who shrinks from such a step. But nations cannot escape the reasonable consequences of their acts, any more than individuals; when we went to war with Spain we made Cuba our temporary ward at once, our permanent political partner whenever she was ready and willing to assume that character.

Doubtless, the beet sugar interests, and such others as may fear the effects of free competition with Cuban products, will be as strongly opposed to annexation as to reciprocity or reduced duties, and it cannot come without a contest. But the moment Cuba offers us annexation, she will appeal to a national sentiment so strong that no special interests can stand against it. They may succeed in defeating the economic proposal of reciprocity. They could not even long delay the acceptance of complete

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political union; for that will appeal alike to the sense of justice and the reasonable patriotic ambition of the average American, and nothing can stand against the union of these sentiments.

The historic attitude of the Democratic party toward territorial expansion is thoroughly in harmony with the voluntary annexation of Cuba to this country, and its present opposition to imperialism is not in the least inconsistent with favoring such a policy. The platform of the last Democratic National Convention favors our national expansion "by every peaceful and legitimate means," and no one proposes that Cuba shall enter the Union otherwise. It declares expressly that the party "is not opposed to territorial expansion when it takes in desirable territory, which can be erected into States in the United States, and whose people are willing and fit to become American citizens." Cuba is certainly for many reasons most desirable and important territory to bring under American control, and large enough and near enough to be erected into one or more States. There is no reason to doubt that her people are as fit to become American citizens, after some preliminary political training and education, as are some millions of those who have already been incorporated into our citizenship; and, further, there is the certainty that annexation would lead to large immigration into Cuba.

The colonial imperialism to which the Democratic party is "unalterably opposed," is, in the words of the platform, that which is involved in "the seizing or purchasing of distant islands, to be governed outside the Constitution, and whose people can never become citizens." This is the case of the Philippine Islands, as to which the writer is a radical anti-imperialist and anti-annexationist; it is not the case of Cuba, which is practically contiguous territory and so situated as to be directly within the sphere of our influence and interests. If she cannot be governed by us otherwise than as the Philippines are governed, outside the Constitution, then, indeed, it might be better for us to leave the Island a political derelict. But there is no reason why Cuba cannot enter the Union in due season, as Louisiana, Florida and Texas entered the sisterhood of States. The Platt amendment provides for the application to a quasi-independent Cuba of a large measure of the irresponsible imperialism which we object to in the Philippines; annexation will regularize a political union which must exist to a considerable extent in fact, and will bring

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it under the established limitations of the Constitution and of our fixed practice under it upon this continent.

Moreover, annexation is in harmony with the economic creed of the Democratic party, because it is the only practicable method for securing fully and permanently the enormous advantages of free commercial intercourse between Cuba and this country. Reciprocity is, indeed, better than nothing; but it is at best the partial enjoyment of benefits which should be fully realized. With the freedom of trade with this continent which Cuba would secure by political union with us, her possibilities for the production of wealth, in which we would so largely share, are great almost beyond conception. The incorporation of tropical territory within our national limits is all that is needed to round out our enormous and varied agricultural capacities. Cuba would be worth more to us in a year than the Philippines in a generation.

The rule of Spain in Cuba was a glaring anachronism for generations before it came to an end. The wonder is that it endured so long; in going over the record of our relations with the Island one cannot but be struck with the patience and forbearance shown by our government, in spite of the full recognition by many of our leading statesmen of the manifest destiny which would one day unite Cuba with America. John Quincy Adams in 1823, when Secretary of State, prophesied annexation within fifty years. "From a multitude of considerations," he wrote, "Cuba has become an object of transcendent importance to the commercial and political interests of our Union. Its commanding position, the nature of its productions and of its wants, give it an importance in the sum of our national interests with which that of no foreign territory can be compared, and little inferior to that which binds the different members of the Union together." These words require no change to make them applicable to the conditions of to-day. The limit of time allowed by Mr. Adams has been exceeded by nearly a generation and the destiny of Cuba is not even yet quite fulfilled; but it is getting nearer and more manifest. With a patience equal to that which we always exhibited toward Spain, with added consideration and sympathy born of our own sacrifices for Cuban liberty, we will wait for the Cubans themselves to offer us freely that political union, even more advantageous to them than to us, toward which the history of a hundred years has been tending.

JOSIAH QUINCY.

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A NEGLECTED FACTOR IN OUR COMMERCIAL EXPANSION.

BY ALBERT HALSTEAD.

THE enterprise and energy of the American consuls are largely responsible for the recent remarkably rapid development of our foreign commerce. Although not exclusively instrumental in that desirable growth, their work is one of its most notable causes. American inventive genius, the enlargement of our productive capacity, which effected a surplus of manufactured articles, and promptness in the execution of orders, have been important influences. The awakening of American manufacturers to the necessity of cultivating a foreign market, as well as the quality, beauty, practicability and novelty of our products, were other primary causes. Without the co-operation of our consuls, this successful invasion of foreign fields would have been less rapid than it has been.

The American manufacturer is alert and enterprising, usually in advance of his foreign competitor. He has done much to secure foreign trade, but the consul has pointed the way and often suggested the means. It is unfortunate that the part of the consul in this commercial development has not, as yet, been fully appreciated. But foreign officials and business interests already understand how great an aid to the marvellous commercial expansion of the United States the American consuls have been. The facility with which the average consul adapts himself to his work is there remarked, and surprise is expressed at the unreasoning fault-finding of critics in the United States. These do not convince, and they offer no practical remedy for the conditions against which they inveigh. They form their judgments from a few isolated instances, or because of some personal grievance they condemn the entire system. The system is not per-

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fect, but it is far superior to any similar service in the world. It is to be regretted, too, that our manufacturers and exporters have not accepted, as generally as they might have done with advantage, the advice officially given them by our consuls. Fortunately, however, there is a greater tendency among us to recognize the good work of the service, and to pay closer attention to its suggestions and recommendations.

In 1874, Congress provided for a Bureau of Statistics in the Department of State, whose duty it should be to prepare the volume of "Commercial Relations" issued annually by that department, as well as other information of a trade or commercial character. The monthly "Commercial Relations," or consular reports, were first issued in October, 1880. Before that, with the possible exception of short abstracts furnished occasionally to the press, the only means of giving publicity to the consular reports was through the annual volume of "Commercial Relations." The consequent delay naturally neutralized, to a large degree, the good that would have resulted from the immediate publication of consular communications. A large number of valuable reports were thus left altogether unpublished, and many others were necessarily curtailed to keep the annual volume within reasonable limits.

Appreciating the good results of the consuls' efforts for the enlargement of our commerce in their several districts, and desiring to give the country the most complete and direct benefits of their labors, Congress, at the suggestion of the Department of State, provided "for printing and distributing more frequently the publications by the Department of State of the consular and other reports." This was in response to the wishes of the leading commercial communities of the United States, as expressed through their Chambers of Commerce, which bore testimony to the excellence of the reports and the advantages which would accrue from their more frequent publication. A circular instruction was then issued by the Department of State on July 1st, 1880, to the various consular agents, setting forth the scope of the proposed publications. Among other things the circular indicated was, that "this action of Congress enlarges the field of your usefulness, and your accomplished labors are a guarantee that you will respond to the expectations of the commercial and manufacturing communities of the country, and thus prove that

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you fully appreciate the very high compliment embraced in this national indorsement of your efforts for the enlargement of our commerce." Consular officers were requested to prepare and forward to the department reports upon all subjects calculated to advance the commercial and industrial welfare of the United States. They were cautioned that while giving themselves the broadest field for the work thus assigned, their "principal efforts must be directed to the introduction of American trade and the enlargement thereof in your several districts." They were told that the information desired should be explicit and comprehensive, that our merchants, manufacturers, agriculturists and exporters might fully understand the peculiarities and requirements of the several markets, as well as the best methods of reaching them; they were to leave as little as possible to surmise and speculation. The frequency of the proposed publications was to depend altogether upon the volume and value of the reports received. No place, where the United States was officially represented, was thought to be so insignificant as to be unworthy of commercial cultivation.

This was the first serious and practical thought on the subject. The Department of State had not before found it profitable to demand, nor had our consuls any incentive to prepare and forward, reports except those required for the annual volume of "Commercial Relations," there being no provision for their publication and distribution. It is different to-day. These publications are daily lessons to American manufacturers, replete with valuable information that should be studied and assimilated.

The Bureau of Statistics was superseded, in June, 1898, by the present Bureau of Foreign Commerce, the name authorized by Congress in enlarging its functions. The bureau sprang at once into greater usefulness as an auxiliary to the commercial activity of the nation. The change was largely brought about by departmental officials, who understood the importance of the material received daily from consuls, and the benefit that would result to our agriculture, commerce and manufactures should prompt publication and distribution be effected. Then followed the issuance of a daily bulletin of the more important and valuable dispatches, treating extensively of trade conditions. The result has more than justified the most sanguine expectations of the several officials concerned. The bureau's publications now consist of the

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daily, monthly and special reports, to say nothing of the volume of "Commercial Relations" which is still annually issued. The "Advance Sheets," or daily issue of these consular reports, with a general circulation of many thousands, are to-day more largely sought after by the trade interests of the United States and of other countries than any other publication of the kind. Their wide circulation, aided by newspaper recognition of them as news, enhances their usefulness. It places all interests to which they relate in immediate touch with some important commercial fact. Our trade bodies, exporting firms and others bear witness to the value of this government enterprise.

Consular reports cover a multitude of subjects. They describe new methods of manufacture. They tell of the enterprises and plans of foreign manufacturers, and of the changes in tariff regulations. They call attention to the tastes, habits and prejudices of the peoples who may become our customers. They report criticisms of American products and the reasons for the unpopularity of certain articles. They suggest necessary changes of style, or in methods of packing, to make American merchandise more salable. They discuss foreign commercial customs and, in fact, cover every possible phase of the foreign markets that can guide or instruct. The consul seldom, if ever, touches upon the politics of the country in which he is stationed, save as it may affect the market for American goods, and even then with the greatest caution. He is actually forbidden to deal with political affairs affecting his territory, for this would destroy his usefulness more quickly than anything else.

A consul who is in touch with affairs at home, acquainted with the capacity of domestic manufacturers to meet certain foreign needs, will make a report on some special product. He will show the price it brings abroad, and suggest that a similar article, but of better quality, can be manufactured in the United States, shipped, pay tariff charges and sell more cheaply than that made in the country in which he is resident. This is an immediate notice to the domestic manufacturer of an opportunity to introduce his goods abroad, and it is frequently accepted. A new market for our products has often thus been established.

The consular service performs another important function. It warns our producers of foreign imitations or frauds upon the real American article. It has proved, for example, that Russians,

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in order to procure a market for their own oil, have placed it in American tin cans and sold it as a native product. It has also shown, on several occasions, how our styles were copied in Germany, and how the imitations have been foisted upon the public as genuine American manufactures.

No American consul can exact a commission or compensation for any information he furnishes to a citizen at home. His reward is the consciousness that he has done his duty and promoted or protected his country's commerce. No consul whose salary exceeds $1,000 can engage in trade abroad.

Another phase of the consul's work, and of his usefulness to his fellow citizen who is seeking to cultivate foreign trade, can be shown. A manufacturer will want information as to opportunities for the sale of some commodity in a particular foreign district. He will write to our consul there. While the latter may be glad to oblige him, perhaps a more satisfactory way is to apply directly to the Department of State, stating precisely what information is desired and asking co-operation in securing it. Many valuable consular reports have been inspired in this way. The department uniformly stands ready to second any efforts of American citizens engaged in a particular enterprise to procure information from abroad. While the department necessarily reserves the right to publish the information, it is first furnished to the individual at whose instance the inquiry was made. If an inquisitive manufacturer interrogates a consul directly, the latter ordinarily replies through the department, that it may make the information general. The consul may regard the letter of inquiry as private, but any report goes through the department. Thousands of such inquiries are made annually of the Department of State, or of the consuls direct, so that each American consul becomes, to an extent, a general information bureau for his own countrymen. The knowledge thus gained often encourages a manufacturer to make a trial exportation, or warns him to avoid an experiment that would but entail a loss.

It was early discovered in our fight for foreign trade that the American exporter or manufacturer was unable to compete with his foreign rival, because he lacked the latter's knowledge and experience. Appreciating this, our consuls have for some years made a point of frequently cautioning American manufacturers and exporters that, when seeking trade with a foreign country,

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they must realize that they are dealing with a different people, whose commercial habits, needs, ideas and prejudices vary greatly from those of our own people, and should be studied and understood. They have impressed upon our manufacturers and exporters the essential fact that they must adapt themselves to foreign commercial customs. For example, they must not demand immediate payment when goods are received. Much less must they insist upon being paid before the goods have been delivered, for too often such a practice clashes with the usage at the point of destination. The exporter is simply over-anxious to be protected from loss through bad debts. That is well enough in dealing with men of doubtful financial standing, but really insulting when the purchaser has an established reputation. We have also, too frequently, refused to give long credits, as our foreign competitors do readily. The difficulty has been, as our consuls have often explained, that the American exporter has neglected to acquaint himself with the financial standing of the merchants with whom he hopes to do business. Our exporters have succeeded in collecting for the first bill, but have not encouraged their purchasers to renew their orders, when payment on delivery has been demanded. Such errors could have been avoided by studying foreign trade habits, and the manufacturer would have been reasonably sure of securing payment.

These points have been emphasized by the consular reports, and brought to the attention of our people with surprising frequency. Yet only the other day, to show how hard it is to teach every exporter his duty to himself, a consular officer in Germany found it necessary to repeat that demands for immediate payment and refusals to extend credits were interfering with the enlargement of our commerce in his section of Germany. Despite discouragements and the feeling, which very often exists, that efforts to instruct our exporters are almost useless, the consuls persevere and are gradually accomplishing much good.

American manufacturers have been averse to making their goods especially for the foreign markets they sought, evidently thinking that if their styles suited Americans, foreigners should be satisfied with them. Fortunately, all this is changing, thanks to the constant teachings of our consuls, and our manufacturers are learning to take pains to cultivate foreign trade by conforming to foreign tastes.

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The question of packing goods is another that has brought forth many excellent and instructive consular reports. It is the old story of meeting foreign prejudices, and of packing goods so as to stand the wear and tear of shipment, as well as to be readily handled. These reports have told of objections raised to American packages, which are so frequently unsuited to the uses for which they are employed. As an illustration, it may be stated that it has been necessary to advise exporters not to pack merchandise that must be transported across a country where carrying facilities are primitive, in packages of larger size than is absolutely needful. Then it has been shown that the same kind of packing will not do for perishable goods as for machinery; that, unless great care is taken in this particular, loss is sure to come through breakages, as well as from the disappointment of purchasers in getting damaged goods. One enterprising consul went so far, recently, as to interview foreign importers, exporters, case-makers and stevedores in his district as to the best method of packing every conceivable kind of merchandise, and his report is a guide book to packing, invaluable not only to exporters but to every American shipper. In discussing the packing question, this consul made the point that: "The manufacturer or exporter who wins a reputation for the best packing of articles has a direct advantage in the foreign trade, prices and quality of goods being satisfactory." That applies equally to the domestic trade.

In still another way have our consuls been most useful to the exporters and manufacturers at home. They have repeatedly insisted that it is best to employ commercial travellers to create a demand for American products abroad. These travelling agents should be Americans and be conversant with the language of the countries in which they are working. They must be prepared to demonstrate the value and utility of the article they offer for sale. Should they be selling machinery, they must know how to put it up and operate it. Ignorance of this or of any detail may be fatal. Such progress has been made in capturing the foreign markets that our people engaged in such an enterprise expect to do everything with a rush, not appreciating that patience is necessary, that the demand must first be carefully cultivated. The commercial travellers must plough and plant the foreign fields before expecting a crop, nor must their employers be disappointed if the first crop is not a large one.

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In the matter of foreign agencies, our consuls have again been very useful in promoting American trade. A United States consul in England, a little while ago, demonstrated that it was a serious mistake to give the agency for the sale of American goods to an Englishman, because the latter often found it more profitable to have the American styles imitated from the samples sent him, and to sell these counterfeits as of American manufacture, rather than to push the genuine American articles. This showed how advisable it is to send trained, enterprising and experienced Americans to open and manage agencies. It is solely to their interest to push the American goods. Patriotism and national pride keep them out of the temptation to sell foreign imitations. In several European countries, depots or agencies have been established for the exposition of American goods. These are not limited to one manufacturer's output, but are, as it were, miniature exhibitions of American products of all kinds, similar to those that many American cities have been wont to hold periodically. While these European expositions of American commodities are not and cannot be under the immediate control of the consuls, they have been established at the suggestion of officers of the service, and have proved a most valuable factor in the introduction of our manufactured and agricultural products. Nothing is so helpful in such cases as an actual exhibit. Such are found in England, Germany, Russia and Venezuela, and doubtless will sooner or later be duplicated in other countries.

It has been possible to give only a few instances of the lessons given by the American consuls to the American manufacturers and exporters. In a thousand ways they stimulate American trade by keeping our own people well informed. Wherever brought in competition with that of other manufacturing countries, notably Great Britain and Germany, our leading competitors, whose consular corps have been held up to us as examples, our consular system has been abundantly able to prove its superiority. The "Advance Sheets of Consular Reports" are eagerly sought by foreign governments. Only quite recently, provision was made, or rather proposed, by the German government to engraft into its system a bureau similar to our own Bureau of Foreign Commerce. In fact, the work of our consuls and its splendid results have caused the German government to require its consuls to pursue somewhat similar tactics, and this within the past few

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months. The British government is likewise adopting some of our consular methods. The trade papers of Great Britain and of Germany still comment upon the effectiveness of the American consular system, upon its great helpfulness to American trade, and they criticise their own consuls for lacking in the inquisitiveness and energy of the Americans.

The consuls of the United States also make reports that are of the greatest value to the Department of State. These, while not designed to give diplomatic information, show conditions of which, for diplomatic reasons, it is well to have the Department of State informed. Thus, an American consul who is alive to the condition of his country and the wants of its people, can always be depended upon to keep the Department of State in touch with events occurring in his district, be they commercial or diplomatic. His usefulness in these respects is enhanced by the accuracy of his reports. In many instances, these are of very great moment and of practical utility as privileged and confidential communications. Within the past few months, for example, the consuls have disclosed the increasing activity of the German government and of German commercial interests in South and Central America. They have shown the evidently growing interest of the German nation in Brazil, the steady investment there of German capital, which now aggregates more than a billion dollars, and the increase in the number of German colonists in that section, where the establishment of German schools is also proposed. They have made apparent the determination of the German government that its colonists shall not become affiliated with the countries in which they settle, but shall be, first and last, sons of the Fatherland, whose welfare is their greatest interest; ready instruments, if need be, in the Germanization of the Southern and Central parts of this hemisphere, regardless of our Monroe Doctrine, should the situation arise when Germany thought she could disregard our policy. This information coming to the Department of State piecemeal, and through confidential reports, has served as a warning. It has made the department more watchful and observant of the dangers of the future in our hemisphere. It directly concerns our diplomacy and indirectly affects our foreign commercial situation, by instructing our exporters as to the immense German invasion of territory that should be almost exclusively in control of the

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Americans. This is one, and a very significant, indication of the importance of the consular service in diplomacy. It manifests the aggressiveness of the German people as our commercial competitor. It shows the consul's usefulness as a source of news, observing and reporting events abroad and offering opportunities to combat foreign plans diplomatically; to check, in their inception, moves that might be harmful and injurious to the peace and, perhaps, to the safety of the Republic.

It will be readily conceded that the American consular service, even though defects may be found to exist in it, must, if honestly measured by the results attained within the past few years, become a well recognized factor in American commercial expansion. The consular officer, whatever may be said of his method of appointment, is usually a "hustler" at home; he becomes aggressive and zealous within reasonable and proper bounds abroad, jealous of his own reputation and report; and he is always intelligent in comprehending and ever ready to promote the needs of American trade. He is, in a word, the advance guard of his fellow-countrymen's commercial interests.

ALBERT HALSTEAD.

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CONSOLIDATED LABOR.

BY CARROLL D. WRIGHT, UNITED STATES COMMISSIONER OF LABOR.

HOWEVER men may differ, not only as to the propriety but the legality of labor organization, all recognize the great fact that labor is organizing and that trades unions and similar bodies, which virtually mean the consolidation or focusing of energy, are here as permanent institutions and will grow more numerous and more powerful as industrial development goes on. It is rare to meet a man not connected with the work of organized labor who does not in some degree approve of it. He may deprecate methods and insist that labor organizations encroach upon the rights and responsibilities of employers, but the underlying principle of labor organization is recognized.

It must be conceded at the outset that the long contest between laborers and capitalists—for it must be evident that there is no contest between labor and capital—in seeking specific legislation has proved inadequate; so the lessons of this period, which is particularly the period of legislation, need to be well remembered by employers and employees. Hostile, revengeful and retaliatory legislation injures every interest, benefits nobody, and cannot long be enforced. The great questions relative to organized labor, therefore, are: Is it not wise to fully recognize such organizations by law, to admit their necessity as labor guides and protectors, to conserve their usefulness, to increase their responsibility, and to prevent their follies and aggressions, by conferring upon them privileges enjoyed by corporations, with like proper restrictions and regulations? Corporations have undoubtedly benefited the country and brought its resources to our doors, and it will not be a very great surprise to close observers of industrial conditions if the next quarter or half century brings the advancement of labor to a position of like

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power and responsibility. Does not wisdom demand that each shall be encouraged to prosper legitimately and grow into harmonious relations of equal standing and responsibility before the law, in everything that relates to industrial and commercial supremacy? This advancement involves nothing hostile to the true interests and rights of both employers and employees.

These underlying questions can best be answered by a brief analysis of the attitude of the public and of law toward labor unions, and of the attitude of labor unions toward various elements of industrial society; and these attitudes should be examined with reference not only to the present conditions but in some respects to the past.

It is significant that all classes, business men, clergymen, students, employers as well as employees, are desirous of studying these questions. That fact indicates a serious determination to ascertain true relations and to be governed accordingly.

Historically, labor organization, in some form, is very old. We need not at this time go into the instances that occur in history even from ancient times, but we may content ourselves with the fact that the trade union, as it is now understood and as Sidney Webb defines it, is an association of wage-earners with a purpose of maintaining or improving the conditions of their employment, and that in this form and for these purposes it has existed in England for about two centuries. It did not spring into existence full grown, but it grew as industry developed. Many writers have insisted that the modern trade union is the legitimate successor of the guilds which existed in the Middle Ages in various parts of Europe; but this view cannot be supported when we understand the true purpose of the trade guilds and other associations in which journeymen and masters formed important constituent elements. It will be obvious at once that any association in which the employers determined how the funds should be used, and what officers should be appointed, can bear little or no analogy to modern trades unions. So the journeymen fraternities of the Middle Ages, followed by the guilds, do not furnish satisfactory origin for modern organizations.

Students have sometimes insisted that the craft guilds, as distinguished from the medieval associations of the wage-earners, were the real predecessors of modern unions, but even that contention rests upon no substantial evidence; for the chief element of

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the guild form of organization in every instance and at every period of its growth was the master craftsman, who owned the instruments of production and controlled the selling of the products. The old guilds were more commercial in their nature, while the fundamental object of the trade union is the protection of the standard of life, and involves organized resistance to any and all movements or innovations which in any way tend to the lowering of the standard of living of wage-earners. To be sure, the old guilds fostered skill and did an immense work in the development of industry, but they were not organized primarily, as I have said, for the upbuilding of the condition of wage-receivers.

There is little or no evidence of the existence of the modern trade union, so far as recorded facts are concerned, prior to the year 1700. The evidence relating to the rise of organization in any particular trade shows the trade union coming up not from any particular institution, but from opportunities for the meeting together of wage-earners employed in like trades. It was the individuality of interests as represented by the union of those employed in the same trade. This very principle distinguishes trade-unionism from some other forms of organization, like the Knights of Labor, which undertook to consolidate all labor without reference to the individuality of occupations.

It is often contended that the trade union was the product of the factory system of labor, but this contention cannot be sustained, for the earliest combinations of wage-receivers existed at least half a century prior to the existence of the factory system, and they were found to embrace trades afterwards that were carried on entirely under the old domestic or hand system. So it must be concluded that the modern trade union came into existence as the result of intelligence—of a desire on the part of wage-earners to improve their condition, to elevate their standard of living, and to become participators in the things which could be secured only through reasonable prosperity.

On the other hand, it is often contended that modern trade-unionism was the result of strong protests against some form of industrial oppression resulting from lack of employment. I cannot accept this view. The conditions of industry during the constructive period of trades unions do not warrant it; certainly, the first half of the eighteenth century cannot be denominated a period of industrial distress. During that period harvests were good, generally, and the price of food unusually low.

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It is perfectly evident, when the philosophy of industrial development is studied closely, that trade-unionism, with or without the factory system, with or without the marvellous development of machinery, with or without industrial distress or industrial prosperity, would have developed as a part of the development of social conditions.

It represented a struggle for improvement, and thus an aspiration—for struggle is always aspiration.

When the factory system came into existence as a permanent element in industry, then began the struggle of trades unions for existence. There had been combination laws and other laws restricting association in many ways; and so, as it entered the nineteenth century, history found trade-unionists considered as rebels and revolutionists and subject to many forms of legal persecution. These things occurred during the first quarter of last century, and when the second quarter opened trades unions were often tolerated, but with what has been denominated a ludicrously timid and vacillating legislative policy. Until the beginning of the last quarter of last century they were subjected to legal disabilities, considered organizations of suspicion, and brought under parliamentary investigation and occasional persecution.

One of these investigations resulted in a really dramatic revulsion of public opinion. It occurred at a time when the supposed abuses and dangers of labor unions roused a sentiment in favor of returning to the drastic legislative repression of earlier years. There was a decidedly unfriendly and even an uncharitable public opinion, but this opinion was suddenly changed by the very evidence by which parliamentary committees had expected to show the need of demanded repression. The real aims and purposes of labor organizations were brought to the attention of the average English citizen, who then realized for the first time that, in spite of legislative repression, legal disabilities, and unjust suspicion, the most intelligent and industrious artisans of the country were making heroic efforts to aid in the upward struggle and to enable their class to meet the great exigencies resulting from sickness, accident, old age disability, irregularity of employment, non-employment, death, and the destitution of widows and orphans. The hostile investigation unexpectedly proved that ninety per cent. of all the millions collected and disbursed by trades unions had been expended for the most beneficent purposes, and that only

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the small margin of ten per cent. had been used as defense funds in industrial warfare and trade disputes.

The great facts that were brought out showed most conclusively that trade-unionism stood for something more than organized conspiracy against trade and for industrial warfare. Legislators caught the spirit, and realized that the unions primarily devoted their energies to individual development rather than to instigating sedition and advocating economic heterodoxy. Capitalists admitted that the very forces which they had endeavored to crush were engaged in efforts of mutual self-help. Academic men conceded that organized labor really had some legitimate function in human affairs. So, after a long and tedious contest against great odds, covering nearly a century of time, consolidated labor was able to throw off legal disabilities and take its place among modern institutions as a recognized force in public welfare, and there it must remain.

The methods, however, need not only to be understood, they need to be improved, changed, and regulated; and the new understanding must involve the freeing of public opinion from the idea which makes combinations, either of labor or of capital, objects of distrust, evils to be throttled, diseases to be eradicated from the economic system. This new understanding involves also the recognition of the truth that unregulated competition is the law of death, and not of life; that it means everywhere the survival of the unfit—the unfit employer, the unfit employee, the unfit type of industrial organization. The new understanding must learn also that combination is the inevitable result of efforts to escape suicidal conditions of unregulated competition of all forms, whether it be the destructive competition of producers combating against each other in the dark for custom, or the hungry competition of workmen combating against each other in the dark for the custom of employers—the opportunity to earn the daily bread of life for self and wife and child. Combination is a new machine, and, like the machine, brings vastly greater economic and social opportunities, powers, responsibilities and duties, but it brings corresponding dangers of misused power and neglected duties and organized selfishness.*

All these reflections relative to consolidated labor in England

*Cf. "The Organization of Labor," by Rev. Edward Cummings. "Christian Register," Oct. 10, 1901.

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apply to conditions in the United States. In our own as well as in the old country, the history of consolidated labor constitutes an integral part of our industrial development, and its growth to the present time represents an influential feature of industrial achievement. The relation of labor organizations to strikes, their advocacy of all educational methods, their conservative action, at times offset the radicalism which has often led them into injudicious action. During the years between 1825 and the present time their history is a progressive one, and in detail would bring into prominence almost every industry in the country. Out of the earlier combinations there have grown some great associations or organizations, developing power and bringing to the attention of the country conditions which need reform and relations which call for the highest ethical influence to secure their proper adjustment.

Among American trade-unionists there are three types of unions recognized—the local, the national, and the international. The typical local union is made up only of members who live and work in one town or one restricted locality, and its business is conducted by a vote of all the members meeting in one place. The national and international unions really constitute but a single type, though the formal distinction between them is carefully preserved in all trade-union references. The typical national union aims to bring under one control the workers of its trade in the United States, while the international union, so called, draws into its constituency the locals of the United States, Canada and sometimes Mexico. All national and international unions have for their constituents local unions,which possess more or less autonomy and which take part in some way in the government of the general body. Most of the national trades unions are affiliated in one great federal organization, known as the American Federation of Labor. The railway brotherhoods, so called, keep their separate organizations without affiliating with any other body. There are some other independent unions, while the Knights of Labor is a body entirely distinct from them all and with a different organic law.

The membership of unions it is difficult to ascertain. The law requiring registration in Great Britain enables the English government to state with fair accuracy the strength of the unions in that country. In 1899, according to the latest report available,

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there were 1,802,518 members, while in the United States, with double England's population, the estimated membership of labor organizations on July 1st last was 1,400,000. When it is taken into consideration that there are at the present time nearly 18,000,000 persons (men, women and children) in the United States working as wage-earners, as distinguished from persons receiving salary, income, etc., the percentage of membership is not large, being not more than eight per cent. of the whole body of wage-earners; but in many trades the members are organized sometimes up to ninety per cent. of the total number engaged.

The objects of most trades unions are well represented in the declaration of the American Federation of Labor, which demands eight hours as a day's work, favors the national and State incorporation of trades unions, the obligatory education of children and the prohibition of their employment under the age of fourteen, and the enactment of uniform apprentice laws, and opposes all contract convict labor and the truck system for payment of wages. It also demands a first lien on property for wages, insists upon the abrogation of all so-called conspiracy laws, urges the prohibition of the importation of foreign labor, and favors the adoption of employers' liability acts.

Trade-unionism, as stated, represents the interests of specific trades. The principle which underlies the tenets of the Knights of Labor ignores specific vocations and seeks to harmonize all individual or separate interests in the interests of the whole, the declared aim of the order being to secure to the workers of society the fullest enjoyment of the wealth they create and leisure for development of their intellectual, moral, and social faculties; and they declare themselves ready to join in any movement which will enable them to share in the gains and honor of advancing civilization. Their specific demands are the establishment of the referendum in the making of laws; the exclusion of lands, including all natural sources of wealth, from speculative traffic; the abrogation of all laws that do not bear equally upon capitalists and laborers; and the passage of legislation providing for sanitary regulation in all productive industries. They also demand proper protection against accidents in factories, the incorporation of labor organizations, the enactment of laws providing for weekly payment of wages. They also ask that mechanics and laborers should have a first lien in protection of wages, and are opposed

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to the contract system on all public works and to the hiring out of convict labor. They favor industrial arbitration, compulsory attendance at school, the furnishing of textbooks by the State, and a graduated tax on incomes and inheritances. They go so far as to make declaration relative to financial systems, are in favor of postal savings banks, and adopt the state socialistic platform relative to the government ownership of telegraphs, telephones and railroads. The American Federation of Labor has also made some declaration in this direction. While these two great forms of organized labor exist in this country, they are remarkably close together in their objects.

All labor organizations are in favor of some form of benefits for their members, even to the extent of some system of insurance. They are also in favor almost universally of the adoption of what is known as the "union label" on products. They contend that the adoption of the union label would insure to consumers goods produced under proper sanitary and economic conditions. Of course, they have found difficulty in carrying out this claim, but they contend that ultimately the label will be the guaranty of union goods.

In carrying out their charitable and beneficent aims they have in some cases collected enormous funds. Perhaps one of the best illustrations of this is found in the experience of the Cigarmakers' International Union, whose latest report shows that it represents 414 local bodies, with a membership of nearly 34,000 as against 2,729 twenty-two years ago. In the last twenty-one years benefits have been paid amounting to the enormous sum of $4,737,550. Of this sum, $838,046 was paid for strike benefits, $1,453,050 for sick benefits, $794,075 for death benefits, $735,267 for travelling, and $917,112 to those out of work; and the order now has a balance of $314,806 in its treasury. Other orders have shown a like record, notably the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, the Typographical Union, etc.

Such being the general objects, growth, and condition of trades unions, it is well to consider their attitude towards certain important phases of industrial life. Their objects are peaceful and moral and do not invite antagonism and but little criticism; but when it comes to action, then men differ not only as to the value of the work of consolidated labor, but also as to the legitimacy of its purpose.

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The attitude towards strikes is a most important one. Almost invariably labor organizations declare themselves not in sympathy with the strike method of enforcing their demands. They insist upon the right to strike, and the courts sustain this right. It is the almost universal attitude of courts in this and other countries that if one man can leave his employment, two or more men may do so, and that there can be no restriction upon this privilege. The courts hold, however, that intimidation and violence must not accompany strikes, and that the strikers themselves in indulging in these things are amenable to criminal law.

Strikes were considered in the early part of last century as conspiracies in restraint of trade and against the principles of common law. Unions are almost invariably in favor of some method of conciliation—the establishment of private joint committees of employers and employees to consider and deal with all grievances; and the instances of the success of this method, both in the old country and in this, are such as to stimulate all organizations, whether of labor or of capital, to adopt the principle. The trouble so far has been that employers have not been as well organized for this particular purpose as have labor unions.

The real influence of labor organizations in the strikes that have occurred in this country can easily be measured. During the twenty years closing December 31st, 1900, there had occurred in this country 22,793 strikes, involving 117,509 establishments. Of these, 50.77 per cent. succeeded, 13.04 per cent. succeeded partly, and 36.19 per cent. failed. Of the whole number stated, 14,457, or 63 per cent. of all, were ordered by organizations. Of the strikes ordered by organizations, 52.86 per cent. succeeded, while 13.60 per cent. partially succeeded and 33.54 per cent., or about one-third, of all such strikes failed. These statistics are very significant, and indicate most clearly the influence of labor organizations in their attitude to strikes, whenever they undertake practically to enforce their demands.

The losses which have occurred during the past twenty years ought to convince consolidated labor that certain great economic truths should be studied and comprehended. The wage loss was $257,863,478, besides which the orders paid out in assistance to striking employees $16,174,793. The employers lost $122,731,-121, the total money loss being $396,769,392.

Dr. Talcott Williams, in a recent article on the late steel

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strike, has stated one of the great mistakes of labor very graphically. He says:

"Unfortunately for all, capital no less than labor, and, worst of all, for the public interest, labor leaders, outside of one well-managed railroad union, never understand that labor can stand a short doubt or delay easier than capital, with its multifarious contracts and responsibilities, so that the latter dreads most a brief interruption; but that when the blow is struck and contracts and business adjusted to it, capital can stand long delay far easier than labor."

This, on the whole, is true, and the truth of it is coming home to the managers of labor organizations.

I believe that strikes as a method of securing recognition will go out of fashion, and that the method of reasoning, as applied through the principles of private or joint conciliation committees, will take their place. The most intelligent captains of industry are thoroughly alive to this view, and I believe that they have an opportunity, in connection with organized labor, to accomplish a vast deal of good and to secure more rapidly the very things most ardently desired by working men.

There is in the organic laws of consolidated labor a very serious omission, and that is of some direct provision for the punishment or disqualification of a member who commits or instigates violence towards persons or property during strikes. This omission deserves severe criticism. Until labor organizations take up this question vigorously and endeavor by all their influence to control their own members effectually, they are certain to lose sympathy in their contentions, and in a large degree to be defeated, even at times when their cause may appear to be just and in the public estimation deserves success.

Consolidated labor has of late years undertaken to secure recognition through a system known as collective bargaining, the adoption of sliding scales being a feature of this work. The recognition of a trade union, in a popular sense, comprehends something entirely different from what is meant by consolidated labor itself. In the former case it is understood to mean simply a recognition on the part of employers of the existence of the unions and dealings with their officers, comprehending, of course, an indorsement of their general, social, and ethical purposes; but on the part of the unions themselves recognition means something more than this, even in many cases to taking part in the establishment of rules, the regulation of wages, and the limitation or

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restriction of output. So the insistence upon recognition involves the economic question of collective bargaining, and it must be admitted that, in reason, collective bargaining is a far better method of adjusting prices and wages than the helter-skelter individual method usually in vogue. The adoption of sliding scales practically originated with labor unions, and some of them have carried out their views with great skill and patriotism.

Employers resent the collective bargaining idea at times, as was shown by a case in Fall River a few years ago, where a question arose between the spinners' union and some of the employers. The union made certain demands or requests, and the manager of the mill involved answered that he would deal with the individual members of the union and not with any committee. The union officers therefore withdrew. Later on, the manager of the mill wished to bring things to a settlement. So he sent for the committee and stated that he was then willing to confer with it, but the chairman answered that he could not deal with any representative of the stockholders, but would deal with the stockholders individually. Now, one answer was just as reasonable as the other. Both were thoroughly unreasonable.

The true attitude, or the attitude which more generally prevails among manufacturers especially, was voiced by Mr. Morgan during the recent steel strike, in a conference between the officers of the United States Steel Company and the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers. Mr. Morgan is authoritatively reported to have said that he was not hostile to organized labor; that he looked upon it with favor—that is, he preferred the well-organized and administered trade union as the medium through which to arrange questions of wages and other conditions of employment, to the chaotic and unreliable results when workmen act as individuals. He asked the association, however, not to attempt to drive him further than it was possible for him to go, at the same time giving his assurance that in the course of time, perhaps two years, the company would be ready to sign sliding scales for all its constituent plants. When this attitude becomes general, and manufacturers recognize the true value of collective bargaining, the result will show the economic significance of the first attempts of labor unions to secure adjustments, so far as wages were concerned, without strikes.

The attitude of consolidated labor toward capital is best repre-

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sented by the views of unions relative to socialism. The chief element which is inducing the wage-receiver to become a state socialist, he is rarely if ever a social democrat, is machinery. Unions themselves are not socialistic organizations, although their members here and there may to some extent be members of the Socialist Labor Party, which believes in State socialism but not in social democracy. There have been during the past ten or twelve years some very sharp contests in the general meetings of the representatives of trades unions of this country and of England between socialist and anti-socialist elements. On the whole, socialism has been defeated in these contests, but here and there, and among working men individually, the socialistic trend is clearly perceivable, and it grows out of machinery, which is at the bottom of the movement. The working man does not oppose machinery as such, for he recognizes that through it his wages have been increased, his productive power greatly enhanced, his comforts broadened, and his work-day greatly reduced. Nevertheless, he believes, with many economists, that, so far, the benefits arising from the application of power machinery have not been equitably divided. He is willing capital should have a large share in these benefits, but he thinks he ought to have a greater share than he now receives; and this belief leads him to the conclusion that he will not get the full benefits of the application of invention until society shall become the owner of inventions and of the machinery under them. Labor unions and federations, while not being socialistic organizations, as I have stated, have nevertheless declared in some cases in favor of the public ownership of telegraphs, telephones, and railroads; and they join in a measure in the academic demand for extension in the municipal ownership of quasi-public utilities.

Probably the most serious question that consolidated labor has to consider to-day is the attitude of law, not only as expressed in statutes but in the decisions of courts. When the Chicago strike was broken down, labor leaders did not hesitate to say that the strike was not broken by the police, nor the military power, nor the railroads, but by the courts. They complained of the expanded use of the injunction warning persons to refrain from doing things which if done would be crimes under statutory law and punishable accordingly. They insist that should they be accused of any violence they should be allowed trial, as crimi-

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nals or as breakers of the law, by a jury in the ordinary way, when they can have, under the bills of rights as they exist in this country, the privilege of facing accusers and bringing forward evidence in their defense. Many eminent jurists feel that the expanded use of injunctions in late years is not in accordance with strictest equity; that this use is a restoration of the practices which existed in England some five hundred years ago, but which were abandoned as a menace to the public welfare. Undoubtedly, there is an increasing hesitancy on the part of courts to grant writs of injunction in cases of strikes; but the menace to the existence of trades unions is one very greatly feared by them all. So far, however, the expansion of organization has not been crippled by the use of the injunction.

Now comes a new phase of the whole question of the relation of law to consolidated labor, in the decision of courts relative to the liability of strikers in what is known as picketing. In our own country there are various decisions covering this ground. The real question is whether strikers should be enjoined against maintaining a patrol, or any form of picket, to prevent non-union men from entering the works of an establishment under strike, or from preventing the employer from carrying on his business, unless he should do certain things which have been demanded of him. There is no question whatever in the decisions where picketing is accompanied by intimidation or force. Then picketing is held everywhere to be illegal and criminal. But there are some decisions now that have been rendered in this country and in Europe, in which the courts have declared that picketing itself is a menace, hence an intimidation, and therefore illegal. English courts have gone a step further, and declared that the union ordering the picket can be sued for damages.

The latest decision is what is known as the Taff Vale Railway case, where, on account of a difference between the company and some of its employees, a strike was ordered by the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, and the strikers picketed the station at Cardiff. An injunction was granted against two officers of the society restraining them from watching and besetting the station, on the ground that such actions were in violation of the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act. The company also made application for an injunction against the society itself. This application was opposed with great vigor by the society, on the

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ground that it was neither a corporation nor an individual, and could not be sued in a quasi-corporate or any other capacity, and that an action of tort could not lie against it. The justice sitting in the case, in September, 1900, granted the injunction, and although he conceded that a trade union is neither a corporation, nor an individual, nor a partnership between a number of individuals, he maintained that a trade union is a corporate body, and as such qualified to sue or to be sued.

It can easily be imagined that such a decision, far-reaching in its nature, caused the greatest consternation among the trades unions; for, if the position of the justice was sound and the higher courts sustained the position, trade-unionism, it was feared, instead of being an element of strength, would be disintegrated and prove a decided weakness. Under the decision trades unions were practically responsible for the acts of their individual members, and having this responsibility, they became liable in civil action for any damages which might occur as the result of an injury done by a single member.

The Court of Appeals of England, in November, 1900, reversed this position, taking the ground that no action was maintainable against the society, and that the name of the society itself must be stricken out of the injunction and the injunction itself dissolved. The plaintiffs, however—that is, the railway company—were allowed to appeal to the House of Lords, the final court of appeal. Decision was rendered by the House of Lords on July 22d last, overruling the Court of Appeals and sustaining the lower court in the position that a union was a legal entity capable of suing and being sued. The Lord Chancellor, in his motion for the allowance of the appeal, stated:

"In this case I am content to adopt the judgment of Mr. Justice Farwell (the justice granting the injunction), with which I entirely agree, and I cannot find any satisfactory answer to that judgment in the judgment of the Court of Appeals which overruled it. If the Legislature has created a thing which can own property, which can employ servants, and which can inflict injury, it must be taken, I think, to have impliedly given power to make it suable in the courts of law for injuries purposely done by its authority and procurance."

The gist of this is that anybody that can inflict an injury can be held responsible in damages for the results of that injury; and this is the new doctrine, which will hold until legislative action either defines it, or abrogates it, and which will undoubt-

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edly be followed in this country in the near future. As the result of the decision of the House of Lords, the railway company at once entered suit against the Amalgamated Society for £20,000 damages. This suit is still pending.

The British trade-union congress, in its session at Swansea a few weeks ago, took up the whole question. What the conclusion of the consideration of it was has not yet appeared, but there are two sides already forming among trade-unionists themselves. Some of them take the ground that a decision holding the unions responsible for the action of their members will destroy unionism absolutely, while others, more far-seeing, more thorough students of history and economic conditions, do not hesitate to claim that the decision will ultimately work to the advantage of the unions, by compelling employers, for their own protection, to deal with the unions as such, and to ignore non-union men.

This brings to mind what was said about the omission of trades unions to incorporate in their organic laws some means of disciplining members who commit overt acts during the progress of strikes. Unions have been weak in this. They order a strike. The men individually claim that they are not responsible for the strike, as it was ordered by the union. Some of the men commit acts of violence. The union says: "We ordered the strike, but we are not responsible for the acts of individual men." The doctrine underlying the decision of the House of Lords would remedy all this trouble, and place the unions upon the strong and enduring basis of entities in the eyes of the law. Furthermore, it would lead directly to their incorporation as business concerns. The Knights of Labor, American Federation of Labor, and other labor bodies concretely representing consolidated labor, have declared in favor of incorporation. Little incorporation has ever taken place, however. There are a few incorporated labor bodies in the State of New York. Some States provide by special mention for the incorporation of trades unions, but in every State a trade union can incorporate the same as any other body.

Labor leaders, however, are apprehensive of the results of incorporation, for precisely the same reason that they have been greatly disturbed by the recent decision of the House of Lords. They admit freely the general benefits of incorporation, but fear the effect upon the funds in their keeping. Their capital consists

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of their contributions or assessments, and this capital could be attached under an action of contract or tort, which it is feared would lead directly to disruption. They also fear that whenever a union for any cause should be brought into court and judgment secured against it, the charter might be revoked.

They also have some fear on the question of injunctions under incorporation, the special ground of their fear being that an unfair judge might cause a great deal of difficulty. This fear, however, it seems to me, is a groundless one, for our courts are on the whole honorable, and in their capacity as administrators of the law pure and incorruptible.

The great advantages of securing charters would be that the unions would have a standing in court; they would have a better standing in public estimation, and they would be more likely to select the ablest men for leaders. As legal persons they could enforce their contracts against employers, while they would be responsible for breach of contract on their own part. They have been debarred heretofore from appearing in court by representatives, and have thus lost a great advantage which would have been of the utmost importance to them. Incorporation, responsibility, and the dignity which comes from these, answer in large degree the questions asked at the beginning of this article—that is, it would be wise to fully recognize unions by the law, to admit their necessity as labor guides and protectors, to conserve their usefulness, to increase their responsibility, and to prevent their follies and aggressions by conferring upon them the privileges enjoyed by all business corporations, but with like restrictions and regulations.

This is not now popular doctrine with the trades unions; but, as a true friend of organized labor, I believe the modern tendency, as shown in the attitude of law in recent times, will make of them what they really hope to become—powerful economic factors, capable under the law, and capable through their responsibilities of dealing with that other powerful factor of industry, capital itself. There should be no conflict: there must be joint and reciprocal action.

CARROLL D. WRIGHT.

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THE INADEQUATE POWERS OF THE INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION.

BY EDWARD P. BACON.

THE existing Interstate Commerce Act has proved futile in remedying the abuses in the transportation service of the country which it was designed to correct, the Commission created by it having been rendered impotent by decisions of the Federal Courts which have been made during the past few years. The Supreme Court has gone to the extent of declaring that the law confers upon the Commission no authority to proceed further, when in any case, after a full hearing of all parties in interest, it finds that rates or regulations are unreasonable or unjust, than to so declare, and to order the carrier to "cease and desist" from charging such rates or enforcing such regulations; and that the Commission has no authority to declare what in its judgment would be reasonable and just rates or regulations in the case in question, or to require such changes to be made in them as would bring them into conformity with the provisions of the act. It will be readily seen that the carrier may comply with the order to "cease and desist" by making such slight change as its officers may see fit, and that the public is without practical redress from any extortion or discrimination which a carrier may arbitrarily choose to practice, except the remedy at common law, with its interminable delays and intolerable expensiveness, from the hardship of resorting to which it was the purpose of the Interstate Commerce Act to relieve the public.

That the course suggested as being open to the carrier is not merely hypothetical is demonstrated by the action of defendant carriers in a case that has come under the immediate observation of the writer. The Milwaukee Chamber of Commerce filed a complaint with the Interstate Commerce Commission against a num-

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ber of railway companies engaged, severally and jointly, in carrying grain from points in Iowa, Minnesota and South Dakota to Milwaukee and Minneapolis respectively, alleging that the rates charged to Milwaukee were disproportionately large as compared with those charged to Minneapolis. The Commission held:

"That in many instances, and in varying degrees at different points, the differentials in grain rates to Milwaukee, above rates in force to Minneapolis, give Minneapolis undue and unreasonable preference and advantage, and subject Milwaukee to undue and unreasonable prejudice and disadvantage. That just and reasonable differentials in such rates would be obtained by applying the interstate distance tariff* to the short line mileage from the several points of shipment to Minneapolis and Milwaukee. That just and reasonable rates to Milwaukee would be made by adding such differentials to rates from time to time in force to Minneapolis, and any higher rates to Milwaukee would be relatively unreasonable and unjust to that city."

The application of this ruling would have effected a reduction in rates on grain from the various shipping points to Milwaukee varying from one cent to three cents per one hundred pounds, and would have afforded substantial relief. The difference in the value of grain in Minneapolis and Milwaukee was, and is now, almost exactly the same as the difference in freight that would have been produced by the application of this ruling, and hence the grain would have netted substantially the same price at the point of shipment whether shipped to one market or the other, which would have placed the two markets on a practical equality in relation to the shipment of grain from the territory in question. The defendant railway companies, however, prepared and put into effect tariffs by which the rates to Milwaukee were reduced from one-half cent to one and a half cents only per one hundred pounds, being in nearly every instance just one-half the reduction required. This was not a case in which "half a loaf is better than no bread," for the reason that, if the reduction made was insufficient to place the two markets on an equality, the grain would continue to seek the favored market. Hence, the reduction made by the companies afforded no relief whatever, and the purpose of the Commission was entirely thwarted.

On petition from the Milwaukee Chamber of Commerce, the Commission cited the defendants to show cause why they should not comply fully with its ruling, and the defendants simply set up the defense that they were unable to agree among themselves

* In use by two of the principal defendant carriers.

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upon any greater reduction in the rates to Milwaukee. The case was reviewed at this hearing, and the Commission reaffirmed its decision and ruling. The defendant company most largely concerned in the traffic thereupon prepared a new tariff covering the territory in question, which it submitted to a conference of the several companies interested, and by which the rates would have been brought into substantial conformity with the ruling of the Commisison. Most of the companies signified their concurrence in the tariff and their readiness to adopt it; but two companies that were closely allied with each other and whose capital stock was held largely in common, one of which was more directly interested in Minneapolis than in Milwaukee business, refused to concur. In accordance, therefore, with railway procedure, which requires the acquiescence of all interested lines in any proposed change of rates, the tariff failed of adoption, and the injustice in rates denounced by the Commission still exists, with no available means of redress. The Chamber of Commerce applied to the Commission to enforce its order through the courts, but was informed by the Commission that under the decision of the Supreme Court it was powerless to do so.

A striking instance showing the necessity of the Commission's being empowered to prescribe the necessary change to be made in rates to bring them into conformity with the provisions of the act, when existing rates are found, upon a full hearing of all parties in interest, to be unreasonable or unjust, arose in a case brought before the State Railroad Commisisoner of Wisconsin about two years ago by the Wisconsin Cheese Makers' Association, an association representing over 1,700 cheese manufactories in that State. Although the case related to interstate traffic, the Commissioner was desirous of affording such relief as he might be able to secure by the exercise of his influence. It represented a large interest, the production of cheese in the State of Wisconsin being one-fourth of the entire production of the United States. It was shown that the rates of freight on cheese from points in Wisconsin to Chicago were actually one-third greater than from points in the dairy region of the State of New York, the distance from the latter being nearly three times as great as from the former. The cheese-makers of Wisconsin were thus compelled to compete, in their natural home market, with the product of a distant Eastern State at a serious disadvantage in freight; and

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not only were coals "brought to Newcastle," but an embargo was placed upon shipments from the natural source of supply. To give the exact figures, the rates from points in Wisconsin, 210 to 220 miles distant from Chicago, were 40 cents per 100 pounds, and from points in New York, 550 to 580 miles distant from Chicago, 30 cents per 100 pounds. The Commissioner held several interviews with the railway officials on the subject, and received encouragement to hope for a satisfactory adjustment of rates, but after months of delay he was formally notified that no change would be made. Presumably, the railway officials attempted to effect an "adjustment" by procuring an advance in the rates from New York, in which they were unsuccessful. The Cheese-Makers' Association was advised to make complaint to the Interstate Commerce Commission, but in view of the limitations set upon the authority of the Commission by the decision of the Supreme Court, the Association was discouraged from undertaking any further proceedings, and the injustice has continued to exist to the present time.

The authority which the amendments to the Interstate Commerce Act, pending in the last Congress, were intended to confer, has been designedly misrepresented by railway officials and attorneys, and characterized as an "arbitrary power to fix rates." They have succeeded to a considerable extent in instilling this false idea into the public mind, and even into the minds of some of the editorial writers of the press, who have not taken the pains to examine the bill and ascertain for themselves what its provisions were. There was nothing contained in it which could possibly be construed as conferring power upon the Commission to fix rates primarily, nor to pass upon them in any way prior to their going into effect. The power to order changes in the rates when found to be unreasonable or unjust, which the bill proposed to confer upon the Commission, could be exercised only after a full hearing of all parties in interest, and was restricted to such changes as might be necessary to bring the carrier complained of into conformity with the specific provisions of the Interstate Commerce Act in the particular case under investigation.

A further change needed in the law to give it effectiveness is to make the decisions and rulings of the Commission immediately operative, and to continue so until suspended or overruled by the courts on appeal by the carriers. This may seem at first thought

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to be objectionable on account of being contrary to ordinary legal procedure; but the relations between carriers and the public are totally different from those existing between parties to general commercial transactions, and special methods are essential for the maintenance of equity and justice in connection with them. Freight charges are paid to carriers mainly by persons or corporations who have no direct interest in them, and become a part of the cost of the merchandise or commodities dealt in by them. The consumer finally pays the freight in the price of the merchandise or commodities he uses, with an added amount representing the profit which has been charged by the several dealers through whose hands they have passed. Or, as in the case of agricultural products, the freight rate from the locality of production to the most available market is deducted from the value in that market to determine its local value, whether or not the particular product is actually the subject of transportation. Hence, any extortion that may be practiced in the collection of freight charges by the carrier does not usually work injury to the person or corporation that primarily pays the charges; and the consumer who actually bears the cost of the freight has no cause of action and is without redress. The carrier cannot give bonds to indemnify the sufferer, in case of resisting the decision of the Commission and holding it in suspense during a long period of litigation, for the reason that the real sufferer is unknown. The ends of justice, therefore, can be subserved only by pursuing a summary course. The Commission, consisting of men who have for the most part acquired experience and skill in matters pertaining to the cost and value of transportation service, and are, in fact, a body of experts in their department, who constitute an impartial tribunal for the fair and equitable adjustment of questions of this nature between carriers and the public, can certainly be regarded as capable of rendering judgment therein, after a full hearing of all parties in interest, that will stand the test of judicial examination. At all events, occasional errors would work but trifling hardship to the carrier if immediately operative, as compared with the continuous plundering of the public which is entailed by the prolonged litigation conducted by carriers in contesting the decisions and rulings of the Commission, as the law now stands.

Under the proposed amendments to the Interstate Commerce

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Act which were before the last Congress, the rights of the carriers were fully protected by the provision that the carrier might, within thirty days from the service of an order of the Commission, begin proceedings in a Circuit Court of the United States to have such order and the findings on which it is based reviewed, and that the court might, if upon an inspection of the record it plainly appeared that the order proceeded upon some error of law, or was unjust and unreasonable on the facts, suspend the operation of the order during the pendency of the proceedings in review, or until further order of the court; and that if, upon hearing, the court should be of opinion that the order of the Commission was not a lawful, just and reasonable one, it should vacate the order. Either party was to have permission to appeal from the Circuit Court to the Supreme Court.

Some confusion has arisen in the public mind on account of the tendency to regard the Interstate Commerce Commission as a quasi-judicial body, owing to the fact, probably, that its proceedings are conducted in judicial form. The functions of the Commission are purely administrative, corresponding to those of a department of the Government, such as, for example, the Treasury Department, which makes its rulings, after a full hearing of all parties in interest, as to disputed points relating to the imposing and collecting of customs duties, which rulings become immediately operative and so remain until set aside by the courts.

As the law now stands, it is wholly optional with the carrier whether or not he shall observe the decisions and rulings of the Commission; and, as a matter of fact, during the past few years they have been generally disregarded. At a hearing before the Interstate Commerce Committee of the Senate on the Cullom Bill, in April, 1900, in reply to a question put by a member of the committee, the attorney of one of the more important railway companies of the country stated that the company which he represented had never complied with an order of the Commission without contesting its validity in the courts. In case of non-observance of any order of the Commission, it can be enforced only by the Commission, or the person or company injured, applying to a circuit court of the United States for a writ of injunction or other proper process enjoining obedience thereto, and either party may appeal the case to the Supreme Court. Through the ingenuity of railway attorneys in devising means of delaying and

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obstructing proceedings, the determination of such cases is often delayed for years, numerous cases having been kept in the courts for periods varying from five to seven years.

There is no element in the economic world that is so pervasive as the cost of transportation. It constitutes an integral part of the cost of every article of food and clothing used by every man, woman and child, and of all materials that enter into the construction and furnishing of a habitation for man, and the heating and lighting of such habitation; and, in fact, of everything that is employed for the sustenance and comfort and gratification of man. To the man who ultimately meets it in the price of what he consumes, it comes as mysteriously as the wind which "bloweth where it listeth, and none can tell whence it cometh and whither it goeth." It is collected as silently and as unconsciously to the actual payor as the customs duties of the Government, the levying of which is the subject of deliberate and sharply contested legislation, over which the entire country is thrown into a paroxysm every few years. But the levying of freight charges, which for railway traffic alone aggregate annually five times as much as the customs duties, is left wholly to the irresponsible and self-interested action of railway officials, without any practical governmental supervision, and with no restraint whatever except that imposed by the natural law which determines "what the traffic will bear." The figures furnished by the statistical bureau of the Treasury Department of the United States show that the import duties collected during the three years from 1898 to 1900, inclusive, aggregated $581,001,542, and the freight earnings of the railroads of the country for the same period, according to the reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission, aggregated $2,843,038,287.

As is well known, a process of amalgamation, or unification of interest, has been going on for some years past between competing lines of railway, which has during the last two years assumed enormous proportions, and competition is fast becoming extinguished. During the period last mentioned a large proportion of the railway mileage of the country, variously estimated by different authorities as aggregating from 101,000 to 112,000 miles, constituting not less than three-fifths of the entire railway mileage of the United States, has been brought under the absolute control of five great capitalists, and the process is still going

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rapidly forward. This constitutes a power for extorting money from the public the exercise of which, however fair-minded may be the individuals in whose hands it is now vested, it is certainly unwise to permit without throwing around it such safeguards for the protection of the public, by governmental authority, as shall effectually prevent its abuse; otherwise it is appalling to contemplate the results that may ensue.

We have a striking presage of these results in the joint action of the railroads using what is termed the "Official Classification" of articles of freight, comprising all the railroads in the territory lying east of the Mississippi River and north of the Ohio and Potomac rivers. By that action, which went into effect on January 1st, 1900, a large number of articles were transferred from a lower to a higher class, by which means they were subjected to higher rates, including many articles of the most common use. According to a report issued by the Agricultural Department of the Government on April 1st, 1900, no less than 592 articles were so raised in classification, and consequently in rates charged for their transportation. For example, sugar, coffee, soap and starch, in carload lots, were raised from sixth to fifth class, involving an advance in the rate for transportation, in the case of a shipment from New York to Chicago, of twenty per cent. On a large number of articles the change in classification involved an advance in rates of from fifty to one hundred per cent., and in some instances even more. Many articles, when shipped in less than carload quantities, were transferred from a lower to a higher class, while the same articles shipped in carload lots remained in the same class as before, which resulted in an excess of from thirty-three to eighty per cent. being charged for transportation of the same articles when shipped in less than carload quantities over the rate in full carload lots; and in some cases the excess was from one hundred to one hundred and fifty per cent. The actual difference in cost to the carrier for receiving, billing and delivering freight in less than carload quantities over the cost in full carload lots does not average over one per cent. The difference in cost of hauling, owing to the cars not always being loaded to their full capacity in combining lots of less than carload quantities, may be from one to two per cent. more. Making the most liberal allowance for the entire difference in cost arising from the difference in circumstances and conditions relating to the two kinds of ship-

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ments, it is the belief of the writer, from a careful observation for many years of the details of freight traffic by railroad with which he has been brought into continuous and close contact, that there is no justification for a greater difference than five per cent., at the most, in rates charged for less than carload quantities over those charged for full carload lots of the same articles, excepting in the case of articles shipped "in bulk" whose identity must be preserved. Any greater difference than this is an unjust discrimination in favor of the dealer whose trade enables him to order goods in carload quantities. The effect of this is, as will readily be seen, to destroy the business of interior distributing points and concentrate trade at great commercial centres.

Some idea of the effect of so extensive a change in classification of freight articles may be gathered by taking the single article of sugar as an example. In the annual "Report of the Statistics of Railways in the United States," issued by the Interstate Commerce Commission, for the year ending June 30th, 1900, the tonnage of sugar transported by the railroads of the country during the year, originating on the line of the companies reporting, is given as 2,050,558 tons. The advance in rate, produced by transferring this article from sixth to fifth class, in the case of shipments from New York to Chicago, was one dollar per ton, the previous rate having been in force for a period of fourteen years. It is fair to assume that this represents the average advance in the rate charged on the aggregate tonnage of sugar shipped to all points throughout the country, taking into consideration the fact that rates of freight between New York and Chicago are relatively much lower than those charged between Chicago and points farther west, and also than those charged on shipments to intermediate points on the route or for shorter distances to other destinations. This would indicate that the increased amount of money paid by the people of the country, as a whole, for the transportation of sugar during one year, resulting from the change made in the classification of this article, was over two million dollars. And this is only one of 592 articles that were similarly affected by the change made in classification, some to a much greater and others to a somewhat less extent. The same advance was produced in the rate charged for the transportation of coffee, starch and soap and numerous other commodities of common use, the aggregate yearly tonnage of

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which is enormous. The previously existing rate on coffee and starch had been in force for a period of twelve years and that on soap for eight years. An advance of fourteen per cent. was produced in the rate on cotton piece goods, the previous rate on which had been in force thirteen years.

Similar changes were made in the "Southern Classification" in use on the railroads situated in the territory lying east of the Mississippi River and south of the Ohio and Potomac rivers, and also in the "Western Classification" in use in the territory lying west of the Mississippi River, by means of which, together with the changes made in the "official classification" above mentioned, a general advance was produced in rates of freight throughout the entire country. It has always been regarded as evidence that a freight rate is remunerative when it has been continued in force a long time. It is a well-known fact that, during the periods mentioned while the previously existing rates were in effect, most of the railroads of the country which were not overcapitalized, and were located where they were needed, were paying good dividends continuously. The only pretext assigned for the indirect advance in rates effected by the changes in classification referred to was the increase in operating expenses consequent upon the advance in cost of labor and material. That this was more than compensated for by the increase in traffic is shown by the fact, stated in the annual report of the Interstate Commerce Commission submitted to Congress on January 4th, 1901, that the percentage of operating expenses to earnings of all the railroads of the country for the year ending June 30th, 1900, was less than for the preceding year, and less than the average for the preceding period extending back to 1890; and that the net earnings per mile for the year ending June 30th, 1900, were greater than for the preceding year, and greater than the average for the preceding period back to 1890.

The Commission states in that report that, "in every part of this country, carriers have by concerted action, without any notice to shippers, and indeed against the vehement protest of shippers, advanced their rates upon a large portion of the merchandise carried under class rates an average of one-fourth," and justly remarks that, "when hundreds of shippers complain that a public servant has perpetrated a wrong upon the public in the discharge of a public duty, there should be some public

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tribunal before which inquiry can be had and by which redress can be administered."

If consumers, who ultimately bear the cost of transportation in the price of everything they use, or producers, the local value of whose products is determined by deducting from their value at the place of consumption the cost of transportation thereto, are to be protected from the rapacity of the common carriers of the country, it must be accomplished by a body organized by the Government for the purpose, with due authority to administer equal justice between the two opposite interests. The necessity of administering justice in relation to these interests by a different method from that pursued in contentions arising between parties to ordinary commercial transactions lies in the fact that the conditions surrounding the two classes of cases are not analogous. The rate charged for transportation is not the subject of negotiation and contract between the two interested parties, but is determined by the will of the carrier and enforced upon the shipper. The party by whom it is primarily paid is a middle-man, who has no direct interest in it; and the consumers, between whom it is distributed and upon whom it finally falls, have no cause of action for recovery in case the charge is extortionate or unjust. Their only protection lies in the proper exercise of governmental authority in the prevention of such a charge at the outset. If the legislative branch of the Government fails to protect the public by primarily prescribing the rate that shall be charged, which the present writer would by no means advocate, it should certainly empower a competent body of men, appointed for the purpose, to exercise a careful supervision over rates fixed by the carriers, and to make summary changes therein when they are found upon proper investigation to be unreasonable or unjust.

That existing railway rates are higher than is necessary to afford a suitable return on the capital invested in railway property is apparent from the fact that the net earnings of the railways of the country, as shown in the annual report of the Interstate Commerce Commission on the Statistics of Railways, for the year ending June 30th, 1900, the last fiscal year for which returns have as yet been compiled, after paying interest on their funded debt, and dividends on their stock aggregating $118,624,409, produced a surplus of $142,754,358, an amount actually over twenty per cent. greater than the sum paid out in dividends.

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The Commission states that there were paid out of the surplus the sum of $25,500,035 for permanent improvements, the sum of $29,596,390 for "miscellaneous deductions," whatever that may mean, leaving the sum of $87,657,933 to be carried to surplus account. By what right the railway corporations of the country levy a tax upon the public for funds with which to make permanent improvements which add to the value of their property, and in addition thereto pile up a surplus to further enhance the value of their stock, the present writer is unable to determine. The entire surplus first above mentioned, over one hundred and forty-two million dollars, was wrongfully wrung from the pockets of the people during the year.

There is a prevalent impression that there has been a continuous decline, for a number of years past, in rates of freight throughout the country, which is due probably to the fact that the average rate per ton-mile for the aggregate tonnage transported has shown a steady reduction from year to year, having fallen from 1.01 cent in 1885 to .72 cent in 1900. This, however, has been the result of a larger relative increase in the movement of coarse freights, from year to year, which pay the lowest rates, than of merchandise and agricultural products, which pay much higher rates, and also of a steady increase in the average distance to which freight of all kinds is being transported, the rates charged for long distances being, and rightfully so to a reasonable extent, proportionately lower than for shorter distances.

The desired legislation has been characterized by representatives of the railway interest as "dangerous," in which they are joined by a small section of the shipping interest of the country, the latter being presumably incited thereto by the former under the apprehension of their being deprived, in consequence of such legislation, of the benefit of preferential rates and advantages, which they are now enjoying, over the shippers of the country at large. That it is dangerous to the class of shippers referred to will not be denied, and also to such railway corporations as desire to be free from any restriction in granting favors and advantages to certain individuals and companies engaged in commercial and manufacturing enterprises, and also to such localities as the officials of such railway corporations may deem it to be to their advantage to favor. It is admitted that it is dangerous also to such railway corporations as desire immunity from governmental

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supervision and freedom to enforce upon the country such rates as their own selfish interests may dictate, without regard to equity or to the relative rights of the respective communities which they serve, or those of other communities in active competition therewith in business. But that they are dangerous to the rightful interests of railway corporations in general, or to the commercial interests of the public at large, is emphatically denied.

That the vested rights of railway corporations, and their immunity from the operation of legislative action that would be unjust to their rightful interests, are amply protected by the provisions of the Constitution of the United States, has been definitely settled by recent decisions of the federal courts, notably by the decision rendered by the Supreme Court on March 7th, 1898, in what is known as the Nebraska Railroad Commission case, entitled "Smyth *vs.* Oliver Ames *et al.*" The opinion of the court, delivered by Justice Harlan, declares:

"It is settled that a State enactment, or regulations made under the authority of a State enactment, establishing rates for the transportation of persons or property by railroad that will not admit of the carrier earning such compensation as under all circumstances is just to it and to the public, would deprive such carrier of its property without due process of law, and deny to it the equal protection of the laws, and would therefore be repugnant to the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States. A railroad is a public highway, and none the less so because constructed and maintained through the agency of a corporation deriving its existence and powers from the State. Such a corporation was created for public purposes. It performs a function of the State. Its authority to exercise the right of eminent domain and to charge tolls was given primarily for the benefit of the public. It is, therefore, under governmental control—subject, of course, to the constitutional guarantees for the protection of its property. A corporation maintaining a public highway, although it owns the property it employs for accomplishing public objects, must be held to have accepted its rights, privileges and franchises subject to the condition that the government creating it, or the government within whose limits it conducts its business, may by legislation protect the people against the exaction of unreasonable charges for the services rendered by it; but it is equally true that the corporation performing such public services, and the people financially interested in its business and affairs, have rights that may not be invaded by legislative enactment in disregard of the fundamental guarantees for the protection of property."

The principle enunciated in this decision regarding the constitutional limitations of legislation by a State is, of course, equally applicable to Congressional enactment.

EDWARD P. BACON.

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AMERICA'S INFERIOR POSITION IN THE SCIENTIFIC WORLD.

BY CARL SNYDER.

It cannot be said that America has produced no great men of science. It was the discoveries of Franklin that gave an impetus to the early study of electricity. The work of Benjamin Thompson, Count Rumford, was done chiefly in Europe; but he was born in Massachusetts. In a sense, Joseph Henry was the co-discoverer with Faraday of electrical induction, from which the dynamo and the greater part of our vast electrical industries have sprung. Cope, Leidy and Marsh were potent factors in establishing the truth of evolution. To whomsoever one may care to ascribe the discovery of anaesthesia—Morton, Wells or Long—they were all Americans. Draper was the first to photograph the stars. The calculations of Professor Newton, of Yale, first drew attention to the importance of meteorites; they may yet give us a clew to the origin of worlds.

The number of men of parts is to-day greater than ever; they are to be found in every field. Simon Newcomb is, with Lord Kelvin, the sole English-speaking associate of the French Academy. The achievements of Professor Willard Gibbs are better known in Europe than in our country; and the same is true of the mathematical work of G. W. Hill. Professor Langley's bolometer and the marvellous things he has done with it are a vital part of modern physics; the like may be said of the ingenious contrivances of Rowland and Michaelson. Such astronomers as Pickering, Burnham and Keeler put America in the front rank in astronomy. I might lengthily extend the list.

We have had, we have, men who have done genuine and distinguished work; the list is distinguished and worthy. Yet it is all too brief. Despite many notable figures, despite much

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notable achievement, America's position in the world of science is inferior. The count of our universities and colleges of the first rank outnumbers that of England or France two or three to one. Germany alone has more. The sums expended upon them are proportionately greater; Germany alone is as liberal as we. Even eliminating the recent outpouring of subscriptions, the endowments of our chief institutions of learning compare more than favorably with those of any other country, centuries older though they may be. Neither the state nor our rich men have been niggardly. Stephen Girard was born a century before Mr. Rockefeller. And the number of our students has always been large. We have lacked neither place, means nor material. Nor, it would appear, has the quality of gray matter been lacking. In the field of applied science, no other nation has a prouder record. We do not forget that it was Fulton who ran the first successful steamboat; that, had not Napoleon been possessed of a contemptuous stupidity, in refusing Fulton's offer, the Corsican might have invaded England and rewritten some pages of history. Morse may not have been the sole inventor of the electromagnetic telegraph; but if any one man is entitled to that honor, surely it is he. His system superseded all others. Graham Bell is a Scotchman, it is true; but he is a typical American "for a' that." All his work on the telephone, and his lesser known work with the phonograph, the radiophone and the like, were done in this country. His only competitor in the invention of the telephone was Elisha Gray, of pathetic memory. These are but instances from a crowd.

Why, then, has the United States so slight a share in the marvellous scientific advance of the century? Why, even in the face of a fine roll of names, can it be said with truth that our position is inferior? I shall try to illustrate.

Pasteur's memorable discovery that the fermentation of beer was due solely to the presence of minute organisms, microbes, was made early in the sixties. That was forty years ago. Step by step the ideas of Pasteur grew and broadened. Applied to the disease of the vines, then to dying silk worms, then to sheep cholera, they are estimated, before his death, to have saved to France alone a sum greater than the cost of the Prussian war, with the colossal indemnity demanded by Bismarck thrown in. Pasteur's own researches culminated in the germ theory of con-

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tagions. A young English surgeon, now Lord Lister, applied his idea to the method of surgical operations; this step was enormous. To-day, operations are common that were unheard of thirty or forty years ago; unknown diseases, such as appendicitis, have been discovered and a radical cure has been found for them. Germans, like Behring and Koch, Japanese, like Kitasato, a crowd of disciples and followers of the Master, as he is known in France, have extended Pasteur's ideas to the treatment of diphtheria, lockjaw, anthrax and many other scourges. Thanks to him, hydrophobia has been robbed of its terrors. At last, medicine begins dimly to emerge from quackery and empiricism, and bids fair in time to become a true science. All this belongs to the present day, most of it to the last decade or so, yet in all this brilliant list of discoveries and applications no American name is to be found, even though we have a larger number of medical schools, medical professors and medical students than any other country in the world.

In another field. To-day, ocean travellers, two hundred miles from land, talk with friends by a telegraph that crosses space with invisible feet. Marconi's admirable triumphs are merely the culmination of a long train of patient researches on the part of many workers in many lands. Clerk Maxwell, the English physicist, had predicted the common nature of electricity and light before our Civil War came to an end. Seeking to verify this surmise, Hertz, aided and advised by his patron, the veteran von Helmholtz, made his epochal discoveries at Carlsruhe. All the world knew of it thirteen years ago.

A host of experimenters were instantly in the field. The delicate coherer which made wireless telegraphy possible was the independent discovery of Professor Branly, of the Catholic University of Paris, and Professor Oliver Lodge, of Liverpool. Notable contributions have been made by the Italian Professor Righi, by the Germans, Professor Slaby, Count Arco, Professor Braun, by Professor Preece, of England, and Professor Bose, of Calcutta in India, to name but a few. It is to be noted that Marconi, like Morse, was an untrained amateur. It was a free field; no American entered. Not with all the stimulating examples of Edison, Tesla, Elihu Thompson was there one Yankee genius stirred to the task.

Another instance. We have become the first steel makers on

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earth. Every schoolboy knows the importance of the slightest admixtures in this industry; that one per cent. of carbon means one kind of steel; two per cent., another; four per cent., something wholly different. Within a few years the fantastic "art" of metallurgy has been transformed from a collection of housewives' receipts to a science. To-day we may make a gold that will melt in a candle flame, another that will cut glass. A mixture of metals, like lead, tin and bismuth which melt at three hundred to five hundred degrees, dissolves in boiling water. A scant trace of one substance introduced in another gives the latter unheard of qualities. Two metals like gold and iron, simply placed in contact, slowly interpenetrate and mix with each other, as if they were so much water and wine. An up-to-date, matter-of-fact text book of the science reads like the prescriptions of the old alchemists. Our ideas of the solid world about us have been irradiated with a new light.

I have before me the latest volume on metallurgy, even-handedly summing up twenty years of marvellous work. From almost a dictionary of names, Belgian, Netherlandish, German, English, French, Russian, I can find but two Americans, Professor Gibbs, whose contribution was most indirect, and Professor Howe. Not even a science upon which rests a billion-dollar trust seems to arouse the interest of one original, inventive American mind.

Mention of the old alchemists will recall to some readers the amazing results recently brought to view by Professor J. J. Thomson, of Cambridge University. Nowadays, every one has come to know a little at least of the high vacuum Crookes tubes, and the velvet glow that comes from them when the tubes are electrified, which gives rise to the Roentgen rays of familiar use. Sir William Crookes long ago showed that this glow is made up of streams of minute missiles. Bombarding a fluorescent screen, they produce the Roentgen light. Putting two and two and three and three together in the most ingenious way, Professor Thomson has been able to measure both the mass and speed of these flying particles, to count them, tell the measure of the electrical charge that each bears—a charge that is enormous. The Cambridge Professor has shown that these bits of matter are certainly a thousand times smaller than the smallest and lightest atom known to chemists; from whatever source they come,

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they are all alike, identical in every way. Is this primal matter at last? Is here the stuff from which all known substances are compounded? May we look forward to the time when we may build up any substance—gold for example—from the elements of any other? Have we realized the philosopher's stone?

However this may turn out, it is certain that these Cathode rays, or "corpuscles," as Professor Thomson calls them, are destined to play a leading part in all future conceptions alike of chemistry and physics. From their first recognition by a German, Hittorf, in 1868, there has been a long line of investigators, whose results fill bulky volumes. If, as now seems not improbable, this should turn out to be the most far-reaching discovery of the century, the historian of the future will be rather puzzled to explain why, among scores of names and observations, not one name, not one observation has been contributed by the nation which boasts itself the best educated, the most progressive and enlightened of all. The tribute of America is conspicuous by its absence.

But slight significance could lie in such a detail of the facts were the cases exceptional. In sketching out this none too flattering picture, I have picked the instances merely as they have occurred to me; not for the purposes of an indictment. Take an instance or two more.

Within the last quarter of a century—that is, within a period during which the United States have been easily abreast of the other nations and tribes—an immense work has been done in trying to unravel the mechanism of the brain. We may never solve the mystery of thinking, conscious matter. But we are certainly in sight of a working theory as to how the substances in the myriad cells of the brain perform their work. The possibility of attaining to such an intimate knowledge of the mind dawned with the discovery by the Italian, Golgi, of new staining reactions. Fascinating to the last degree are the pictures of the brain revealed by the microscope, in the hands of a multitude of workers. The cosmopolitan character of science was never more admirably illustrated. The Spanish neurologist, Ramon y Cajal, vies with Bethe of Germany, Van Gehuchten of Belgium, Forel of Switzerland, Waldeyer of Austria. A whole library could be filled with monographs, memoirs, journals and great books on this single subject. Scarce any land beneath the sun is unrepre-

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sented, save America. In all this wealth of literature you search in vain for a reference to one American's work.

Another illustration takes us farther afield. Scarce any science has taken on so prodigious a development in later years as chemistry. As a science, it dates from Lavoisier, the French farmer of the taxes whose head fell in the Terror. The pivot of modern chemistry is the atom imagined by John Dalton, a learned Quaker of Manchester, whose book appeared in 1808. So vast a field does this science now cover that hardly any man is master of more than a part. A German chemical dictionary, Beilstein's, dealing with but a single branch, organic chemistry, treats of 50,000 distinct compounds. There are half a dozen other important branches, each with its own huge literature—with special journals, even. It is almost a world by itself. Primacy here has shifted about from one country to another throughout the century, and chiefs and leaders have come from every point of the compass. Obscure lands, like Sweden, Norway, Russia, have been often at the fore. Yet the history of this wonderful science could be written in full detail without mention of perhaps more than a single American name. It will better indicate the state of the work in this country to note that the work of this single American, Professor Willard Gibbs, was unrecognized, was unknown, until it had been dug from the Connecticut archives by a Dutch chemist, after it had lain buried for nearly twenty years.

Perhaps in the minds of some, obsessed with the notion that a new country necessarily means a new people, and that the gentler nurture of the intelligence which we call the sciences and the arts had small show in America until recent years, it will be judged that I have had here under view a time too long. It will not be difficult to find a science that belongs wholly to recent years, where, therefore, our own country has had an equal chance with any other. Take a special province of chemistry that has become of great commercial importance within a very few years: Electrochemistry.

Whatever scattered processes might have existed prior to 1885, the science itself was then a thin and meagre affair. All that was known might have been acquired in an hour or two of close application. Though Clausius in Germany and Williamson in England made tentative efforts at a consistent scientific theory about the middle of the century, the discoveries of Faraday in

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the thirties represented the sole progress from the conceptions of Grotthaus, which date from 1805, and are still to be found in many American text-books in current use. The moot question was one that had the greatest importance to chemistry in general and particularly to the chemical explanation of life-processes: What happens when a substance is dissolved in water or other liquid?

Almost every one knows that pure water does not conduct electricity. The end of a wire circuit, dipped in the water, lets through no current. A lump of table salt or a spoonful of sulphuric acid not merely makes the water a conductor but gives rise of itself to an electric current. This was the essence of the discoveries of Galvani and Volta. A lump of sugar, so dissolved, has no such effect.

The explanation of these phenomena, and the practical founding of a new science as well, was the joint work of Van't Hoff, a Dutchman; Arrhenius, a Swede; Ostwald, a Polish German; Raoult, a Frenchman. Extended by eager investigators in every direction, the new theories have worked a genuine revolution in chemistry itself; they have given rise to a number of new industries, which, if we add to them the aluminium and calcium carbide industries, born of the electric furnace, are already worth millions of dollars to America alone; millions more to Europe. The new theories, moreover, seem to throw a flood of light on the most puzzling problems of life. Thanks to them, we are on the way now to a connected account of all vital actions, whether of digestion or reproduction, growth or death, on a simple mechanical or chemical basis. Our bodies and our brains consist very largely of water; the blood carries in solution all the materials which maintain life, so that if we have a complete theory of solutions, we shall have a complete theory of life. We may be able to answer without embarrassment the old, old question, What is life?

The astonishing development of this province of knowledge, within a space of time so brief, a development thoroughly international in character, is a striking example of that admirable organization of modern society which permits a degree of cooperation and an ease of communication, coupled with the stimulus of friendly rivalry, which would have been impossible a few centuries ago. Nowhere is this splendid solidarity, this intelli-

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gent "community of interest" so much in evidence as in this especial field; nowhere is the remarkable isolation of the United States from the rest of the scientific world more clearly illustrated. A list which would include the names of even the lesser builders of this imposing fabric would hardly include that of one American.

It would be easy to multiply examples. Here is the far-reaching theory of the ether, explaining or at least offering the only existing explanation of the phenomena of light, heat, electricity and magnetism, of the Marconi telegraph and X-ray photography. Whether it stand, or whether a simpler and better theory shall replace it later, it is assuredly the most brilliant example we possess of the fruitful union of scientific experiment and the scientific imagination. Wise men from among many peoples have come bearing their gifts; but, in the long line from Kelvin and Helmholtz to Lorenz and Poincaré, you discover no faces out of the desert of the western continent.

It is pretty much the same story wherever we turn. What is the cause? Why is it that this people, now marching to the industrial conquest of the earth, has done so little, comparatively, in the realms of science? I leave the answer to others who may love large generalizations more. My purpose was rather to indicate a condition than to propose a remedy. It is certain we do not lack for colleges and institutions of "higher culture." The sums which our Croesuses scatter with lavish hand are the wonderment of Europe. We are a clever people, undoubtedly; this we have no need to be told; our newspapers and orators do not miss an opportunity of telling us so. We have done big things; and it is, perhaps, just for that reason, just because of the rich prizes of business, that the Faradays and Claude Bernards are not to be found among us.

A few weeks ago France did honor to one of the century's notable men, her great chemist, M. Berthelot. The President of the Republic was there to preside; it was a national affair. I suppose M. Berthelot may be accounted the greatest experimental genius since Faraday; the list of his discoveries, the range of his work, the fertility of his resources have been amazing; and it is the boast of his countrymen that he never took out a patent. One of his eulogists said that his work had been done for mankind. He has long been a Senator of France; he was for a time

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Minister of Foreign Affairs; yet it is told of him that visitors in winter are invited to his bedroom when they call, a fire there meaning a slight economy of coals! It is a little difficult to assimilate such a character to American ideas of success, yet even our Midases may feel dimly the greatness of such simplicity as that.

The life of M. Berthelot recalls that of Pasteur, or again that of the great physiologist, Claude Bernard. They, like Faraday, might each have had millions; they declined prizes that it needed but a lifted hand to grasp. They labored for the race, and perhaps some day we shall come to honor them as much as we now instinctively honor a slayer of men or a millionaire. The work of Berthelot, like that of Bernard, has been done chiefly at the College de France; that of Faraday was done at the Royal Institution of London. Every one knows of the Pasteur Institute, though not many know how widely its activity has been extended and the multitude of novel things done there in recent years.

We lack in America anything just like these three institutions, as we lack anything like the German University system, which gives German professors so wide a latitude of time for original experimental work. It may be that one cause of our inferiority in a scientific way lies in this want.

Each of these celebrated seats has a history that is unique. The Pasteur Institute was founded as a national memorial to the illustrious man whose name it bears. That restless, tireless genius had saved France millions of treasure and thousands of lives. The silk industry, the wine industry, medicine, surgery, the dairy, stock raising, the most intimate sources of national wealth, well-being and happiness even, had felt the impress of his mighty hand. Scorning the rich rewards which might have been his, had he chosen to put his discoveries under the seal of letters patent, Pasteur deserved well of his people. They understood it; they honored him, as few men of science have ever been honored while they were alive. But medals and decorations did not suffice. So, when one of the great newspapers opened a subscription for a splendid memorial, for an institution wherein Pasteur and his disciples might carry on their work under the most favorable conditions, the response was instantaneous and touching. There was hardly a humble home in France which was not, in some way, indebted to Pasteur, and there was hardly

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a humble home in France from which a slender subscription did not come. The Institute was the result.

Thanks to the munificence of the Baroness Hirsch, a new building has been recently completed, devoted wholly to biological chemistry and doubling the capacity of the institution. Workers come there now from every part of the earth. Show that you have a work to do, and all the resources of the most perfectly equipped laboratory, all the aids of modern technical and scientific instruments—grown exceeding complicated now and expensive—are at your disposal.

It would be strange if such an institution did not yield rich fruit, and under the guidance of the present Director, M. Duclaux, aided by men of splendid talent, like Roux, Chamberlain, Metchnikoff, Gabriel Bertrand, Mazé and many others, a great work is being done. The whole theory of fermentation, and the wide rôle of the various ferments in every phase of animal and vegetable life, as well as in many industries, is being worked out. So far do its labors extend that very recently, under Metchnikoff and his especial aids, the senility of the cells and the causes of old age are being investigated. Perhaps we may look forward to the day when we shall find agents able to counteract the growing years. Science has many dreams, and the everlasting fountain of Ponce de Leon is assuredly one.

The main body of the work of the Pasteur Institute has now grown too severely technical to admit of brief description; it is enough to say that nowhere else, perhaps, has so close an approach been made to the solution of the most intimate problems of hygiene, of health and of life.

Is it needful to add that we have no institution in America comparable to the Pasteur Institute, no great working laboratory where the investigator may go with his hopes and his plans, and work upon them advantageously and in peace?

France has yet another institution of a slightly different character, yet contributing to the same end, the unimpeded pursuit of experimental science. That is the College de France. Founded in the days of the splendor, and originally devoted chiefly to theology and philosophy, it has within the century taken on more and more the stamp of a research institution. There the work of Magendie and his great pupil, Claude Bernard, was done. There Renan sat and taught. There M. Berthelot has pursued

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uninterruptedly his fertile and fruitful career. Each of its professors is expected to give, once or twice a year, a series of lectures; and these have come to be more and more a summing up and synthesis of the most recent work in each especial field. These lectures are free to all; you may go or stay, or drop in now and then as your leisure and inclination decree. There are no entrance examinations, no fees to pay. If you care to enroll yourself regularly and attend a given number of series, a diploma is at your disposal. Whether you take it or no, a liberal education is yours for the asking, or rather for the attending. Within the wide leisure of these classic halls you may gather the latest results from every domain of human knowledge.

The labor of the series of lectures entails no great drain upon the time of the occupants of the various chairs; it serves rather as an excellent drill and as an incentive to clear popular exposition of special studies. For the rest, the professors are free to pursue their tasks and their dreams, with never an account to give either to the public or to the state. Is it any wonder that under such a system some of the finest research of the century has been done there? Scarce any single institution of the world can show so proud a roll of memorable names and of achievements that mark an epoch. If there is anything in America which may be likened to the College de France, it is, perhaps, the Smithsonian Institution at Washington. Much notable work has been done there; America has no more distinguished *savant* than its secretary, Professor Langley; and yet it would be admittedly unfair to compare for a moment the work of the two. The Smithsonian has no such resources, no such equipment, and, it may be added, no such far-reaching aims.

It is to be noted in passing that almost all of the courses of the chief university of France, the Sorbonne, are equally open to the public, with neither formality nor price. There, for the trouble of entering its walls, at almost any time you may hear the chief luminaries of French science and French letters; you may listen to the elegant periods of M. Faguet, or, under the grace of M. Moisson's facile discourse, feel the most recondite subjects take on the allures of romance. So far as I know, this is true of no American university.

Paris has yet a fourth institution very close of kin to the Pasteur and the College. A couple of miles to the east of the

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University stands the old Jardin des Plantes, made famous by the genius of Cuvier. There a large number of professorships, touching all the various departments of scientific instruction, are set aside for original minds who seem to have a work in the scientific world to do. They are "blue ribbon" posts, and afford independence, leisure and stimulus for that patient, unremitting, undiscouraged toil which is at once the condition and the source of the best scientific work. There Professor Becquerel made his astonishing discoveries of substances which give off light and energy without apparent drain, inexhaustible and unceasing, seeming even to contradict the fundamental law of natural phenomena, the conservation of energy. There Maquenne was the first to produce calcium carbide, from which comes acetylene and a new industry; there he now pursues his work upon the chemistry and constitution of the sugars. I cite only two names from a score or more.

Without naming the École Normale, where St. Claire Deville spent his active life, or the School of Arts and Manufactures, or the College of Pharmacy, where both Berthelot and Moisson gained their reputations, nor a number of other minor institutions, here are three great seats of learning, chiefly devoted to experiment and research. This in a single city! Need there be any marvel that France should possess a roll of great names so resounding that, as I have indicated, the comparatively meagre roll which the United States may produce seems inconsiderable indeed?

London has a similarly admirable example to offer. The amount of genuinely scientific work which England has done, from the days of Boyle and Hooke and Newton, has been noteworthy enough in itself; it has been astonishing, when the singular indifference to science alike of the English Universities and of the English people themselves, taken broadly, is considered. Although it was at Oxford that Sir Robert Boyle laid the foundations of chemistry, the contributions of the old English university to the advancement of knowledge have been humiliatingly small. Cambridge, within the last forty years, has done a very distinguished work; and the same may be said of the Scotch universities.

But the stronghold of English science within the last century has distinctly been the Royal Institution in Albemarle Street.

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From thence have the most brilliant discoveries in England come. There the singularly varied mind of Dr. Thomas Young elaborated the undulatory theory of light, and deciphered the hieroglyphs from the tombs of the Ptolemies. There the flashing genius of Sir Humphry Davy devised the first electric light, and set the man in the street talking of the latest marvels of chemistry. There the whole life work of Faraday was done. There the picturesque imagination of Tyndall made the hardest subjects of physics as fascinating as a tale of Cathay. There Professor Dewar and Lord Rayleigh have made their striking discoveries of new elements, and opened up new realms for investigation.

The Royal Institution was founded by an American. Benjamin Thompson, later Count Rumford, was born in one of the villages near Boston. His precocious genius and dominating ways aroused enmity against him; and when the war of the Revolution broke out and he started to raise a company of militia, he was literally driven over to the British side. He fled to England to become, at twenty-four, Under-Secretary of State, and at twenty-seven a member of the Royal Society. Knighted, his restless love of adventure took him to the Continent, drifting toward one of the eastern wars. Entering the service of the King of Bavaria, he was made Count Rumford for his genius as an administrator. He was virtually prime minister; and, for a time, when the King had fled, it was he who ruled. In a single day, he banished mendicity from the most beggar-ridden nation in Europe. When he returned to England, just a century ago, he conceived the plan of a great institution whose chief object should be the diffusion of knowledge and of the benefits of science among the people.

The result was the Royal Institution. It has scarcely held to the ideals of its founder. Its chief features are its courses of lectures. Each year, the most notable men of England and the Continent are drawn upon to sketch in an entertaining way the latest steps of the sciences. Travellers and inventors come, too; there are courses for young folk; there is a splendid library, and no club in London is more inviting. The membership fee is £10 a year, and the list is large. No wonder, for a tolerably assiduous attendance affords an opportunity to listen to and to make the acquaintance of the most famous and most interesting men of the time.

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There are but three professorships. Like those of the College de France, their duties are light and the opportunities for research are wide. The system is ideal; yet, considering the number of chairs, it is simply a marvel that a single institution in a single century could show such a roster of great names, such an array of genuine achievements. It would be hardly too much to say that, during this hundred years of its existence, the Royal Institution alone has done more for English science than all of the English universities put together. This is certainly true with regard to British industry, for it was here that the discoveries of Faraday were made.

The German university system and the independence and leisure which it affords German professors is too well known to need sketching here. It is pleasing to note that something of this same spirit and of this same system is coming into vogue with our American universities. Of this, much good may come. But there is room—nay, if the United States wish to hold the same position in the world of science as they are so proud to hold industrially, commercially and perhaps in a social and literary way as well, there is a very articulate need, for institutions like those of Paris, and like the Royal Institution which an American refugee founded, with such large results, in London.

It would require but the co-operation of those who are broadly interested in scientific progress, and who have a desire to keep abreast of the swiftly advancing knowledge of their day, to achieve the beginnings of a great institution which should be at once a scientific club, a forum where the chief notables alike of Europe and America might be gathered and heard, and a seat of scientific research. I should like to see, I should like to assist in, the founding of such an institution in the chief city of the New World.

CARL SNYDER.

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FILIPINO VIEWS OF AMERICAN RULE.

BY DR. T. H. PARDO DE TAVERA, BENITO LEGARDA AND JOSE RUIZ DE LUZURIAGA, THE NATIVE MEMBERS OF THE UNITED STATES PHILIPPINE COMMISSION.

A frank expression regarding the influence of American rule in the Philippine Islands has been obtained for the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW from the three eminent Filipinos who have been acting since September 1st, under the appointment of the President of the United States, as members of the United States Philippine Commission. Each of these gentlemen was asked by the representative of the REVIEW at Manila to give written answers to four questions regarding the effects of American control. Their answers show that many good results have followed American government in the Philippines, but they are entirely frank in their references to the ravages of the insurrection and the many things which remain to be done before the Islands will enter upon a career of enduring prosperity.

The four questions were:

"Has the presence of the United States in the Philippine Islands resulted in the improvement of the political and economic conditions as compared with those existing under Spanish rule?

"What good results have followed the presence of the United States in the Islands?

"What ought the United States to do in the Islands to promote the commercial progress of the people of the Philippines?

"What form of government ought to be established in the Islands by the Congress of the United States?"

I.

THE principal benefit resulting from American sovereignty in the Philippine Islands has been the liberation of the Filipinos from the sad and hated political intervention of the Friars. The system employed by Spain to assure her domination in the country by means of the religious orders is well known. Americans are not able to understand what the Friar really is, because they regard him purely from the religious point of view, and in the Philippines the religious side in the Friar is one of the very least importance. To understand his rôle in these Islands, it is

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necessary to recall the part which he played in Spain in the time of that terrible King, Philip II., when the Inquisition and the intolerance of the monks controlled with iron hand all the social, economic and political machinery of the Spanish state. The responsibility for all the acts of injustice and the errors committed by Spain in the Philippines have been attributed to the Friar; and although he was only the tool of the government the Filipino people consider him primarily accountable for all their misfortunes.

The separation of the church and state is not yet understood here in all its breadth and meaning, but it responds to a necessity, and is therefore received as an invaluable benefit by the people. Thanks to it, the Friar does not intervene as he used to do in municipal affairs nor in those of the provinces; and he can no longer threaten the people with his omnipotence, because the government neither wishes nor has a right to appeal to him under any pretext or excuse.

The centralizing policy of Spain was evil for us. Men who were ignorant of our necessities, our customs, and our situation, and who had no reason to occupy themselves with such details, legislated for our country in Madrid. It is known that it was said that the "Philippines were for Spain and for Spain alone." The convenience of the mother country was always sought, and by the side of that no attention was paid to the necessities of the colonies. Now, although the Filipinos do not legislate in their own country, we have succeeded in having legislation carried on among ourselves. The legislators hear our voice, know the country, and there has never been a return to the unjust and cruel theory by which we were formerly governed: "The Philippines are for the sovereign nation and for the sovereign nation alone." On the contrary, the promises of the lamented President, Mr. McKinley, are being fulfilled—that America comes to the Philippines to aid them, to sustain them and to give to them the principles of liberty and free government which rule the United States and make it great.

Municipal organization is another of the great benefits which we all recognize. The complete autonomy which the municipalities now have could not be—I do not say "proposed"—but not even conceived of or hinted at under the former régime.

The rôle of the present Civil Governor cannot be compared

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with the one which the former Governor General, surrounded with attributes and vested with arbitrary powers, exercised here. Then the Governor interfered in everything; he was the legislative, executive and judicial power at one and the same time, intervening even in affairs of the most personal character. The system of absolutely separating the judicial, legislative and executive powers is so new to the Filipinos that at each step we pause with doubts and consultations, not only on the part of the people at large, but even on the part of those Filipinos who now occupy positions in the executive department. It is also novel in the extreme to think of the supreme executive power of the archipelago having a civil character; because, accustomed as we are to the traditional rule of military power, aided and reinforced by an organized priesthood, it is not easy now to understand how civil power holds sway, with the power of the priesthood completely annulled and the military power converted into a part of the simple administrative machinery of the state.

The law of *habeas corpus*, the power to assemble, the freedom of speech and of the press, the abrogation of obligatory military service and of the execrable system which but recently lent itself to so many outrageous abuses, and the abolition of banishment, imprisonment and military executions on account of political beliefs, are real benefits which American sovereignty has brought about in the Philippines.

The economic situation of the Philippines was lamentable. I had some notion of it, but when I traversed a great part of the archipelago, accompanying the Commission on its trip to organize provincial governments, I had the sad opportunity of convincing myself of the lamentable economic state of the Islands. There are no ports; no rivers with clean entrances and channels available for commerce; there are no wharves; the roads are deficient, and there are only six or eight lighthouses in the Islands. The public buildings are few and bad; I do not refer to those which were destroyed in the war, for even if these still existed they would not supply the deficiency. The only existing hospital was that of San Juan de Dios de Manila, sustained by public charity. Hardly any schools were to be found, and the most frequent public edifices met with were the prisons, over whose entrances by a lamentably bad interpretation of Christian charity had been inscribed the words: "He hates the crime and sympathizes with

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the criminal." Such a sentence appears to have been inscribed for making martyrs of those who under the weight of an odious crime suffered—victims of fatality—human punishment. The best public buildings which are found on all sides are those dedicated to religious purposes, though many, to be sure, are burned and destroyed.

The government has to create everything. The city of Manila has been the first to reap the benefits of the new government, as it had from the very first moment of American occupation an organized sanitary department which was of prime necessity. As yet there has not been time to do more, because everything has to be literally created and formed anew; but we already have two magnificent iron markets, the streets are well ordered, contracts for the harbor works of Manila have been made, a bridge has been constructed in the Plaza de Santa Cruz, and very shortly they will commence to dredge the river Pasig, which is not available for ships drawing more than three feet of water. In the provinces, roads are being built and wooden bridges are being constructed to replace those of cane built about three centuries ago, and a land tax has been established; in brief, there has been organized an economic life whose skeleton, whose foundation, did not formerly exist here.

A strict accounting system in the administration has resulted in the taxes producing to-day double what they did in the best epoch of the former administration without, as yet, any increase having been made in the rate of taxation. The same thing has happened in the customs service, and the Insular Treasury contains a surplus of ten million pesos, an unprecedented condition in this country.

Such are the good results which have followed the presence here of the United States; but, as a result of the war, agriculture has been wiped out and the public wealth has diminished to such an extent that movable and immovable property has been reduced to ashes. Compensation is to be found in the fact that the Filipinos are convinced that the era of justice has begun. There is no longer a government of privileged characters, nor is the law now obeyed by the poor alone. Bribery, too, has been made the cause for sending more than one person to prison.

This does not mean that all the Americans who have come here have paid heed to justice and practiced the virtues which

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their nation honors, but the public authorities have laid a heavy hand on those whose misconduct has contributed to a great extent to the prolongation of the war.

An epidemic among the cattle has destroyed a great number of carabaos, and they are animals for which no substitute can be found in the labors of our fields; and since our commerce depends essentially on the agricultural products of our soil, agricultural losses have been enormously increased thereby.

It is also to be noted with satisfaction that the government has paid punctually for those works which it has undertaken, and it is no longer the case that wages are withheld, on any or no pretext, from those who have been legally employed for the benefit of the government.

Commerce and agriculture will be greatly stimulated by the creation of trust companies and mortgage loan companies, with branches in the principal capitals of the Provinces. The construction of roads, the deepening of the river channels, the building of wharves and harbors, and the creation of means of communication—of which there are none to-day—will give a powerful impulse to the country, and the result thereof will soon be seen. The expense of public administration makes the creation of taxes unavoidable; but it would seem to be a mistake to hasten the imposition of direct taxes which will cause the Filipinos to sell, of necessity, their property holdings to persons or societies with sufficient means to be able to exploit them, just at this time. Doubtless the public wealth would not lose by such a change of ownership, but individuals would suffer. The rich persons or societies who should acquire the holdings would erect their prosperity upon the ruin of the former owners.

It would be very beneficial if Filipino products could enter free of duty into the United States, which country would thus become the great market for our exports.

We supporters of the Federal Party aspire to see the Filipinos constitute themselves some day into a State like those which form the Union. Until we are in a condition to obtain this final desire, we hope that, gradually and in accordance with the capacity and situation of our people, the government of the Philippines may go on acquiring a state of autonomy more and more nearly complete, approaching the definite form of its final development. If we had not had so prolonged a war, there is no doubt that it would

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have been necessary to organize a government like that which has been given to Porto Rico and to Hawaii. We understand that the war has created for us a different situation, and although we desire to-day to have the benefits of self-government established in these Islands, I believe that the condition in which we find ourselves placed would not justify it.

For the present, it seems to me that Congress should approve the provisional form of government established here, maintaining it during one, two, or perhaps three years in such a way that, when partisan feelings have been calmed, when a certain lack of confidence between Americans and Filipinos has disappeared, the time will have arrived for giving us a territorial government.

To-day the Filipinos desire, as the most important measure of the American government, that there be conceded to us a chamber of representatives of the people, chosen by election. Nothing could be more just; but is it, indeed, opportune? We cannot and do not forget that the Isle of Samar, that of Cebu, that of Bohol, Batangas and other provinces, although they do not constitute, to be sure, a great part of our territory, are to-day in open rebellion against the United States. Those provinces would not be able to send representatives, if it were attempted now to establish a Congress by popular vote. Furthermore, in those places which are pacified, I do not know to what extent it would be practicable to hold an election, in view of the circumstances in regard to political and partisan education which exist to-day. It would be sad, indeed, if a chamber formulated at this time by popular election should prove a fiasco.

I fear greatly that such a chamber would prove unavailing at this time, and that the government would find itself compelled to suppress it—an act which would not only wound the *amour propre* of the Filipinos, but might retard the time for establishing a real territorial government without the restrictions which present conditions would impose.

I believe that to-day full satisfaction would be given to the just desires of the Filipinos, if Congress, upon approving the form of government which we actually have, should decide that our Archipelago should send to Washington, in the character of representatives, fully informed as to the needs of the Filipinos, two delegates chosen by vote. This could be accomplished by each province selecting a commissioner, and these commissioners

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once assembled would choose the delegates to represent them at Washington.

It is certain that my opinion will not to-day receive the approval of the majority; but I will not forget that, though the policy I advocated three years ago was then generally considered absurd, it is as generally accepted to-day as just, rational and patriotic. T. H. PARDO DE TAVERA.

II.

The political conditions of the Archipelago, notwithstanding that we are now in a period of transition, have changed considerably for the better, when compared with the tyrannical colonial system of Spain. The autonomy now enjoyed by the *pueblos* organized under the provisions of the Municipal Code, promulgated by the United States Philippine Commission, could not be more liberal; never have the Filipinos enjoyed such equal rights, neither under Spanish rule nor during the time of the short-lived Malolos government. The right of suffrage as exercised to-day is an entirely new thing to the Filipinos. So also is the exercise of all of the individual rights which they enjoy under the American flag, and it is only those who obstinately refuse to see what is taking place under their very eyes, those incorrigible obstructionists who oppose all civilization and progress and systematically find fault with every measure that the American government has purposed to carry out in these Islands, who will deny the rapid advance that has been achieved here in so short a time—not by restricting liberty, but by extending it; not by limiting public instruction nor by supporting religious fanaticism, but by fostering everywhere public education, purifying and strengthening religious convictions, and requiring respect towards all forms of worship.

All of the above mentioned advantages, coupled with the added value which necessarily pertains to all rights guaranteed by a strong and stable government, we in this Archipelago have enjoyed since the day that it pleased Providence to plant the American flag on our soil. Even though many Filipinos cannot for the present appreciate these advantages for the reason that the ravages of the war, now happily drawing to a close, and which was cruel and bloody in some of the districts of the Archipelago, are still too obvious, it is hoped that in time these evils will be

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forgotten and they will then be convinced of the sincerity of the American government.

The customs tariff recently promulgated completely satisfies for the present the aspirations of Philippine industry and commerce. Great benefits would accrue from the establishment of mortgage loan banks, which would facilitate the development of the great sources of wealth which are to-day completely at the mercy of usury; but it would be well to remember that in order to accomplish this successfully, it will be necessary so to modify the existing laws as to guarantee property titles, so that they would become unquestionable before the law. Equal benefits would result from the building of good roads and railways, which would furnish transportation for the people and for the products of this rich soil and its industries. They would increase production and open up immense fields and rich lands, which are to-day untilled on account of the lack of means of transportation. The same thing may be said of the regulation of the sale and the development of public lands, which would encourage a large immigration of American laborers and farmers, who would teach the Filipinos the inadequacy of their primitive system of agriculture. This would indeed be a step in the right direction for the Archipelago. Other benefits would be gained by the establishment of experimental agricultural stations similar to those in the United States.

The change proposed by the government in the monetary system and the adoption of the gold standard, now universally established in the commercial centers of the world, as well as the issue of a special coinage for this Archipelago, at a fixed ratio to that of the United States, would place commerce on a safer basis. The regulation of the granting of concessions for the working of the mines of all kinds with which this country is blessed, would give us an opportunity of freeing ourselves from the large importations of coal and other minerals which to-day makes us tributary to other countries.

Although there are powerful reasons for believing that a more autonomous government would be very beneficial to the moral and material reconstruction of this Archipelago, they are no less weighty than those held by people who are of the opinion that the *status quo* of the existing provisional government ought to prevail for the period of two years. This time is considered indispensa-

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ble to allow the Filipinos to become conversant with their individual rights and their use, and to become familiar with the right of suffrage, which, as has been said before, is an entirely new thing to them. The most powerful argument to be found in favor of the latter view is based on the results of the municipal elections in some provinces, where the voters, instead of considering the common good, have allowed themselves to be influenced by the dominant *casiquism* or by the party passions and puerile reactionism which not long ago incited the war. There is no doubt that the Filipino people must purge themselves of these vices inherited from their former rulers and which are today deeply rooted in them, before they can fully enter upon the exercise of their rights. When this has been brought about, it will be well to remember that sudden changes are seldom beneficial and that a gradual development is always more advantageous.

The hope of the Filipino people would be to have a Legislative Chamber of Representatives who were elected from each province, though such elections should be limited and restricted, in that the electors would have to combine the qualifications of fitness and capability as well as the elected; and these conditions should be made also to apply to the powers of the Chamber, to the extent that its acts might be set aside whenever the exceutive government thought that measure necessary for the common good.

It would also be well to allow a delegation, composed of several persons elected from within the Chamber, to represent it in an informative character in Congress at Washington, so that the Filipinos might have an opportunity of learning and later exercising political functions; but this, I believe, will only be possible when all of the provinces are able to be represented in the Chamber. In short, I believe all of this will be possible only when the hostility which still exists against the constituted power shall have ceased.

BENITO LEGARDA.

III.

Taking up the subjects in the order placed in the interrogatory, I begin by stating that the presence of United States government in these Islands has undoubtedly produced immense changes for the better in the political conditions of the Filipino people. Indeed, it could not be otherwise, as the Filipinos have rid themselves from the theocratic yoke and placed themselves

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under the eminently liberal administration of the United States, by which they have been enabled to secure those liberties and rights which they could never have attained under the Spanish sovereignty.

With regard to the economical situation, it can at once be affirmed that so far as Manila and other cities of the Archipelago are concerned, where large numbers of Americans are gathered, belonging to the army and the Civil Government, the situation has improved to a remarkable extent; but it must not be inferred from this fact that the country, taken as a whole, is prosperous. It is true that imports to Manila have considerably increased, and that for this reason stores of all kinds, from those handling staple articles to those dealing in luxuries, have multiplied. It is also true that city real estate and rentals have greatly increased in value. Judging from the business done in Manila, it might appear that the whole country was relatively as well off, the prosperous state of the capital being but a faithful reflection of the general welfare of the Archipelago. But it must be borne in mind, on the other hand, that agriculture has suffered a mortal blow in all of those provinces where the war was actively carried on, and that little by little production has been falling off every year until to-day it is at its minimum—not only because of the war, but also on account of the ravages of the locusts and the rinderpest, which have practically paralyzed it. The plantations, farms and cultivated lands do not now produce enough for local consumption; indeed, they fall far short of the requirements of the inhabitants. This anomalous situation has now resulted in an adverse trade balance so ruinous to the Filipinos that they have been compelled to pay with their savings for the value of imported merchandise consumed for the past three years. They have had no demestic products to export, excepting small quantities of abaca and copra, the value of which has not been sufficient to counterbalance their losses.

As a result of the authority of the United States in these Islands, we have to acknowledge the great benefits that peace and all its wholesome and profitable conditions have brought to the provinces as well as to the *pueblos* under civil rule, where, aside from the advantages of the municipal autonomy and the provincial régime, the administration of justice is speedy and upright. Moreover, schools have been so organized that the Americaniza-

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tion of this country will be an accomplished fact within a few years if all elements join, as it is to be hoped they will, for the purpose of accomplishing this meritorious work in favor of the culture and welfare of these peoples.

In order to attain commercial progress in these Islands, which to my mind is most essential in these critical times, it is necessary to place our commerce under the strongest protection, so that it may be raised from the state of prostration which now prevails, after suffering the effects of a titanic struggle against the evils of war and the ravages of the locusts and the rinderpest. The war has deprived it of laborers; the locusts have annually destroyed the plantations; and, lastly, the rinderpest has carried off the caraboas necessary for the cultivation of the land. The best remedy, then, which at present can be applied, is the establishment of mortgage loan banks in those provinces where agriculture is best developed. As an experiment, and one which I am sure would be crowned with success, I would suggest the establishment of a bank of that kind at Bacolod, capital of the province of Occidental Negros, which is the most productive sugar-growing district in the Archipelago, but which has unfortunately lost all of its caraboas through the rinderpest. This province has at present enough ground planted in cane to yield a crop of one and a half million picos of sugar for the next harvest (one pico is equal to 137½ pounds). The establishment of mortgage loan banks would not be so difficult if the Insular Government would lend its assistance to the realization of this useful and vital requirement.

As for the rest, agriculture being the principal source of all wealth, it is evident that, if by the establishment of mortgage banks relief is granted to the agriculturists who to-day find themselves in a state of prostration, the increase in the products of the soil which this will bring about will in itself be sufficient to send commerce along the road of progress—especially so if at the same time adequate means of transportation are obtained, along with a sensible system of taxation which shall in no way be burdensome to the taxpayer.

In my opinion, it is very difficult to answer at present the question with respect to the system of government that Congress ought to provide for us. However, taking into account the aspirations of the majority of men who are more or less interested in

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the political future of this country, my answer can be condensed as follows: That it might perhaps be well to establish here a form of government similar to that of Hawaii or Porto Rico. Since the conditions here, however, are somewhat different to those which prevailed in those islands when their governments were established by the United States, it is clear that our case must have a different solution. Aside from the agitation which still influences the minds of most of the people, it is well to remember that the province of Batangas and the Islands of Samar, Mindoro, Cebú and Bohol are yet in open warfare against the government of the United States.

So long as this abnormal condition exists, it does not appear to me that it would be prudent and politic to introduce any change in the established government of these Islands. Only when hostilities shall have completely ceased, when the popular mind is less perturbed, ought there to be thought of forming a popular Chamber of Representatives, elected by suffrage under an election law which, by its wise restrictions, shall offer a safe guarantee that such representatives shall be wisely chosen. With this Chamber of Representatives the Civil Commission as at present organized would co-operate, constituting a Council of Government to the Executive Power of the Governor and the secretaries of the departments, the latter having the powers of a Senate. Such a form of government, I believe, would satisfy the Filipino people until such time as they were capable of forming, as a Territory, a part of the Great Republic of the United States.

JOSÉ RUIZ DE LUZURIAGA.

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THE SUGAR QUESTION IN EUROPE.

BY YVES GUYOT.

In the following article, I give the situation of the sugar question in Europe at the moment of the reunion, at Brussels, in the middle of December, of the International Sugar Conference.

I.

The entire sugar industry in Europe is subject to a system of bounties.

In industry the term bounty is applied either to an abatement of taxation, or to a direct remuneration allowed on a definite production.

Sugar legislation in all European countries has these aims in common—to stimulate the production of sugar, to limit the domestic consumption of sugar, to encourage foreign consumption.

These results are attained by indirect bounties, avowed, as in France, or disguised, as in Belgium and Russia; by direct bounties, as in Germany, in Austria-Hungary, and, since the law of 1897, in France.

There are two different taxes: First, the tax on beetroot; second, the tax on the product of the beetroot.

All the legislation on this subject is characterized by instability. I shall indicate rapidly its variations in the last twenty years, its actual character and its effect upon production, internal consumption and commerce.

France.

The system of bounties upon manufactured sugar was introduced in France, in the middle of the seventeenth century, by a decree dated September 28th, 1648. Abolished by the law of March 15th, 1791, they were re-established by the law of the 8th Floréal, Year XI. Since the law of March 11th, 1819, there has been constant sugar legislation. This legislation has at-

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tempted to reconcile two opposing interests: that of colonial sugars and that of beetroot sugars. The government itself recognized that the problem was insoluble when, January 11th, 1843, it proposed to buy up the beetroot sugar industry for a consideration of 40,000,000 francs, and to prohibit any future manufacture. Had this proposition been adopted, it would have saved much time to our political assemblies and many parliamentary intrigues, and many hundred millions to the taxpayers and to French consumers.

Bounties on the production and exportation of sugar are of two kinds: those instituted in France by the law of 1884 are indirect bounties, and those which were established by the law of April 7th, 1897, are direct bounties on exportation.

This is the principle: the tax is assessed upon less than the actual product; the sugar produced in excess of this estimate is exempt from duty; the difference between the sugar taxed and the sugar produced constitutes the bounty. The law of July 29th, 1884, established a compromise by which the quantity of taxable sugar was estimated in a definite ratio to the weight of beetroot employed. This proportion was 6 kilogrammes of refined sugar to 100 kilogrammes of beetroot.

All production above this amount was exempt from taxation, syrups and molasses as well as sugars; nevertheless the law itself considered that the estimate of the product was too low, and raised it for the season of 1887-88 to 6.250 kilogrammes; for that of 1888-89 to 6.750 kilogrammes, and for that of 1890-91 to 7 kilogrammes.

Almost immediately the proportion of excess rose to 31.21 per cent. of the production. The tax was devoured by the bounty.

The law of 1884 was modified by the laws of 1887 and 1888. At last the law of April 7th, 1897, drew up the present system.

The legal product is fixed at 7.750 kilog. of sugar to 100 kilog. of beetroot. When the actual product of each factory does not exceed 10.500 kilog. of refined sugar to 100 kilog. of beetroot the entire excess is given the benefit of the reduced taxation established by the law of August 5th, 1890; that is to say, it is taxed at the rate of 30 francs. Above 10.500 kilog., one-half is liable only to a tax of 30 francs; the other half is liable to a tax of 60 francs. In the season of 1899-1900, the quantity of sugar which benefited by the reduced tariff was 249,644,526 kil.,

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being 28.72 per cent. The total allowance of the premium at the rate of 30 fr. for every 100 kil. of sugar under reduced taxation amounted to 74,893,358 fr.—*i. e.*, fr.8.62 for every 100 kil. of refined sugar produced.

Direct Bounties on Exportation.—The law of April 7th, 1897, established in favor of sugar direct bounties on exportation and reductions in proportion to distance. To obtain the necessary funds it established a uniform duty on the refining process at the rate of 4 francs to the 100 kilogrammes and a tax of 1 franc on manufacture.

It exempts exported sugars from these taxes, and, according to the class to which sugars belong, it gives an export bounty of 3.50 francs, of 4 francs and of 4.50 francs. But article 12 specifies that in case the expenditures of a season exceed the proceeds of the taxation destined to meet them, the rate of bounty for the next season will be reduced by the amount necessary to reimburse the Treasury for its advance. The object of this law is to discriminate in favor of the refineries of the ports.

Raw sugars destined for exportation, transported from a French port on the North Sea or the Channel, to be worked up in a French port on the Atlantic or the Mediterranean, receive a bounty of 2 francs.

Austria and Germany.

To a greater or less extent all the other countries have copied the legislation and practice of Austria in late years.

In Austria, by the law of August 21st, 1888, bounties on production were replaced by bounties on exportation, varying from 1.50 francs to 2.30 francs. Altogether the sum total of bounties could not exceed 5,000,000 florins. This rate was raised to 9,000,000 florins by the law of July 7th, 1896; a royal decree of July 17th, 1899, raised the bounties to 1 florin .60 and 2 florins .30, but retains the limit of 9,000,000.

The duty on domestic consumption, fixed at 11 florins in 1888, was raised to 13 florins in 1896 and to 19 florins in 1899.

In Germany the law of May 27th, 1896, now in force, is characterized by three essential points: the tax on manufacture, the limitation of the total production of factories, and the bounty on exportation, which has been named the war bounty.

The tax on manufacture is fixed as follows: For the season's yield (per season) of 40,000 bags or under, .10 mark (.125 franc)

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per bag (100 kilogrammes); above 40,000 bags up to 50,000, .125 mark (.156¼ franc) per bag; over 50,000 bags up to 60,000, .15 mark (.187½ franc) per bag, and so on, increasing the tax by .025 mark (.031¼ franc) per bag for each additional 10,000 bags. The tax is payable when the sugar leaves the factory.

Every year a quota of production is fixed for each factory. On the quantity produced in excess of this figure, the tax on manufacture is raised to a rate the same as that of the bounty on exportation or on the exportation of raw sugar.

The rate of bounty allowed on exportation is: A. on raw sugars of at least 90 per cent. of saccharine matter, and refined sugars of under 98 per cent., 2.50 marks (fr.3.12½); B. on loaf sugars of at least 99½ per cent., 3.55m. (fr.4.43¾). All other sugars of at least 98 per cent., 3m. (fr.3.75).

The duty on consumption has been raised from 18m. (fr.22.50) to 20m. (fr.25).

The sugar industry in both Austria and Germany is characterized by the existence of a "Trust."

The Austrian Trust, like all combinations of the sort, relies upon the existence of a high protective tariff. The Custom House imposes a duty of 11 florins (22 crowns), say, francs 22.55, per 100 kilogrammes, upon foreign sugars, and Austria has no colonies to send her cane sugar.

The manufacturers of Austrian sugar have unanimously agreed with the refiners not to sell any sugar for domestic consumption. On their part, the refiners have guaranteed the price of 15 florins (30 crowns) per hundred kilogrammes to the manufacturers of sugar, for all raw sugar for internal consumption.

The total surplus accruing from the manufacture of sugar is divided among the manufacturers in proportion to their respective production, calculated upon their average production of a certain number of years.

It is very easy to calculate the profit resulting from the Trust, and fix its division between the refiners and the manufacturers.

In fact, from the prices quoted at Trieste we have the value of sugar in the international market, what it would be in the interior of the country if there were no agreement between the producers, adding the tax to the bounty on exportation.

Thus, according to the official statements of prices quoted in crowns (the crown is worth half a florin), we note the price at

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Trieste (price of export)	Cr. 27.75
Bounty on exportation	4.60
Duty on consumption	38.00
Total	Cr. 70.35

Therefore if the Trust did not exist, the price in the domestic market would be 70.35 crowns.

Now, according to the same official quotations at Prague or Vienna, the price of refined sugar is 84.25 crowns, which leaves about 14.50 francs to be divided under certain conditions between the manufacturers and the refiners.

The price of raw sugar which serves as the base of the calculation is not the average price for the year, but the average price for the months from November to April.

Naturally production varies from year to year, but we may count upon a total of a million tons.

The consumption has been estimated at 320,000 tons of refined sugar: there is an agreement between the manufacturers and refiners to add 10 per cent. to this amount to represent the consumption of raw sugar: thus for 320,000 tons of refined sugar this would give 352,000 tons of raw sugar.

On this total there accrued to the manufacturers, for the year 1899-1900, 16,825,000 francs, in round numbers 20,000,000 francs, on a total profit which is at least 46,400,000 francs.

This sum of 16,825,000 francs divided among all the producers represents for the manufacturer a surplus of fr. 1.68 to each bag of sugar produced.

For the refiners the surplus on 100 kilogrammes of refined sugar delivered to the home consumer will be fr. 9.25 if the entire surplus is applied to the average exportation of 500,000 tons of refined sugar exported. That would constitute a supplementary bounty of fr. 4.50.

The Austrian refiner would seem then to reap the principal advantage from the arrangement concluded; but it is only fair to remark that the situation would be much altered if the price of raw sugars in the international market should fall much, and that in that case the share in the profits of the manufacturer would increase proportionately.

In its principal features, the German Trust, which has been in existence only since June 1st, 1900, is a reproduction of the Austrian Trust.

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The Russian System.

Since August 1st, 1881, the tax on native sugars is collected on the quantities actually produced. Since September 1-13, 1894, sugars of all kinds produced by the sugar houses are subject to a tax of 1 ruble (fr. 2.66) and 75 copeks per pood (kil. 16.38).

Raw sugars are subject to a tax of 3 rubles, or $2.316, and refined sugars to a tax of 4 rubles ($3.088).

Since the ukase of July 2d, 1895, the ministry determine each year the probable internal consumption of sugar. The quantity decided upon is divided among the different factories in proportion to their average production, and of the sugar produced in excess of the amount fixed, a deduction having been made of 60,000 poods to each factory, which are subject to the tax on the necessities of life, the remainder, which can not be sold in the domestic market, is charged with a tax of 3.75 rubles to the pood, while the price varies from 4.80 rubles in summer to 4.60 rubles in winter, an average of 4.70 rubles: deducting the tax of R. 1.75, there remains R. 2.95 to the pood, or 48 francs to the 100 kilos.

There remains, then, after deducting the tax, a net price of R. 1.20, or of fr. 3.20 the pood, say fr. 19.54 the 100 kilos, a price lower than the market price in Russia and than the price in London.

Exportation is then obligatory, and M. d'Aulnis de Bourouill has admirably explained the character of the bounty on exportation of the Russian system. No manufacturer knows in advance the number of poods which he can sell in the interior in excess of the fixed quantity of 60,000 poods allowed to each factory: this quantity will be determined by the total production of each establishment compared with that of others. It is then for the interest of each manufacturer to increase his production, for the price of sugar, after the tax has been deducted, at 48fr. the quintal, assures him a large profit, and at the same time customs duties protect him against external competition. While the purpose of the legislation was to limit the production of sugar, its effect has been to stimulate it, since the manufacturer can sell at a loss in the foreign market, as he is compensated by his gain in the domestic market.

For a factory with an average production of 175,000 poods, the situation is as follows:

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Available for the domestic market	134,015
Obligatory reserve	11,300
For exportation	27,685
Total	173,000

If it triples its production, it obtains the following results:

Available for the domestic market	332,646
Obligatory reserve	45,900
For exportation	140,454
Total	519,000

The net price of sugar (tax deducted) in Russia being 2.95 rubles the pood, and the cost 2.20 rubles, the profit is 75 copeks to the pood. For exportation the price delivered at Odessa is 1R. 73 copeks; the loss on exportation amounts to 47 copeks the pood. From this we have the following results:

In the domestic market the difference between 134,015 and 332,646 poods, 198,631 poods, sold at a profit of 75 copeks, represents a gain of 148,973 rubles.

In exportation, the difference between 27,685 poods and 140,454 poods, 112,769 poods, sold at a loss of 47 copeks, represents an aggregate loss of 53,001 rubles.

This gives an excess profit of 95,972 rubles.

The law allows factories to exchange among themselves their obligations to the domestic market, so that a factory situated at Odessa may export its entire product and send its certificates to factories in the interior.

II.

The French law of 1884 had two objects: to increase the production and to improve the quality of the beetroot; to develop largely the manufacture of sugar. It has achieved its object. It has even been too successful.

In 1884-1885 the production of refined sugar in France was 273,000 tons; in 1889-1890 it reached 700,000 tons; in 1898-1899 737,000; in 1899-1900, 863,027 tons; in 1900-1901, 1,023,898.

The quantity of sugar benefited by the reduced tariff represented in 1900-1901 28.72 per cent. of the total production. The average profit, reckoned at the rate of 30 francs to the hundred kilos., or the quantity liable to the reduced tax, amounted to fr. 8.62 on each ton of refined sugar, including 14 per cent. represented by molasses used in distilleries, in agriculture, and sent to the foreign market.

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Although the production of sugar in France has trebled, consumption, if we compare it with the total of the population, has remained almost stationary. From 416,632 tons of raw sugar to a population of 37,800,000 in 1884-85, say, Ks. 11.02 per head, it fell to 343,000 tons in 1888; it was in 1899 497,349, and in 1900 490,000 for 38,600,000 people.

Comparing the price of £13 9s. per cwt. for loaves in London —which is fr. 34.20 exactly per 100 kilog.—with the price of 103fr. for loaves in Paris, we arrive at the following figures:

1. World's quotation in London	Fr. 34.20
2. Consumption duty	60.
3. Refining tax	4.
4. Export premium	3.11
5. Supervision tax	0.04
Total	101.35

If the grocer buys at 103 fr. he has to add the following charges:

Price quoted for loaves	Fr. 103.
Carriage (minimum)	0.30
Exchange	4.
	107.36

He sells at 110 francs, and thus the consumer pays fr. 1.10 per kilog. when he ought to pay only fr. 0.41, including the profit of the retail grocer.

The sugar industry has developed in Germany only since 1874. It has risen from 300,000 tons to 1,261,000 tons in 1889-1890, a period when it represented 35.4 per cent. of the total European production, and to 1,770,000 tons in 1899-1900; but its relative importance has been reduced to 33 per cent., which proves the increased production of sugar in all countries.

The consumption of raw sugar, which was 375,000 tons in 1884-1885, rose in 1898-1899 to 766,419 tons.

Austria, whose production in 1874 was less than 300,000 tons, rose in 1889-1890 to 740,000 tons, and in 1899-1900 to 1,100,000 tons, representing 20 per cent. of the entire production. Its consumption, which was 188,445 tons in 1884-1885, has more than doubled, 379,856 tons.

Russia, which produced 448,000 tons in 1889-1890, has doubled her production with 900,000 tons in 1899-1900.

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Belgium has attained to a production of 209,000 tons in 1889-1890, 270,000 tons in 1899-1900; and she consumes 68,985 tons.

This year the probable production in Russia will be 51,200,000 poods. With the stock from the last season, it is 56,500,000 poods. The consumption has risen to 36 millions.

When we consider the consumption of the different countries in relation to their production we find that neither France, Germany, Austria, Belgium, nor Holland consumes half of its production. Exportation is then a necessity to them. In 1898-1899 Germany exported 500,691 tons of raw sugar and 456,611 tons of refined sugar; Austria-Hungary 136,948 tons of raw sugar and 514,904 tons of refined.

In 1900, France exported the following quantities, stated in detail:

From French colonies	35,023
Native raw sugar	362,000
Refined sugar	163,271
Imperfectly refined	14,972
Products of sugar waste	8,284

England absorbed 330,000 tons of our raw sugar; 163,271 tons of our refined sugar; about 85 per cent. of our entire export.

In 1898 England consumed 1,439,000; in 1899, 1,447,000; in 1900, 1,488,000 tons.

The situation of the sugar industry in Europe becomes more threatening as its outlets close, and as the production of sugar constantly increases. In 1899-1900 Egypt produced 100,000 tons; Italy, which in 1897 had only four factories, has now 29, producing 20,000 tons, one-fourth of the consumption. Roumania produced 25,000 tons; it is calculated that Spain will produce 160,000 tons, or twice its own consumption.

Doubtless the cost of production in these countries will not allow them to enter the universal market, but their production closes the outlets of the old exporting countries.

According to the estimate of *"Prager Zuckermarkt,"* the production of beetroot in Germany was, in the season of 1900-1901, 1,970,000 tons; in Austria, 1,090,000; in France, 1,150,000. The official estimate of the 15th of February announces an estimated production of 936,000 tons of refined sugar, against 781,000 tons at the same date last year.

For a long time the manufacturers of the Continent have supposed that they would always be protected from countervailing

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duties. The supplementary duty established in the United States on August 27th, 1894, and the law of July, 1897, have begun to undeceive them, and the Indian tariff act of 1899 has continued the process. Sir Nevile Lubbock, President of the London Chamber of Commerce, said at the reunion on December 20th, 1899, to which they intended to invite me, "We demand a countervailing duty to protect the countries that reject the system of bounties against the combination of the countries which retain it."

Lord Cranborne declares that the English Government, having secured its liberty of action at the Brussels conference, can impose a countervailing duty on sugar if it chooses.

From one day to the next, England can wipe out the sugar industry of the Continent. Far-seeing friends of the sugar industry, like M. Dureau, Editor of *"Le Journal des Fabricants de Sucre,"* recognize and appreciate this fact.

According to the report given by *Le Siècle* of the dinner of the London Chamber of Commerce, on December 20th, he said: "In principle we are in accord with M. Yves Guyot: the system of bounties is absurd, and its general abolition would certainly be desirable for the producers as well as for the consumers." In 1900 France has given 74,893,000 francs in indirect bounties to 339 sugar manufacturers, plus 21,287,000 francs in direct bounties and deductions, altogether about 96,180,000 francs.

In 1884 the number of factories was 449; in 1899-1900 their number had decreased to 344. In 1884 there were employed 43,896 men; in 1899-1900 there were only 42,812 men.

In 1900 our exports of sugar amounted to 61 per cent. of our production and importation, that is, a quantity greater than was consumed at home. While in 1900 we exported 159,000,000 francs worth of sugar, we paid nearly 100,000,000 in bounties, rebates and taxes.

The system of bounties subjects industry to all the uncertainties which affect political assemblies. An industry dependent on bounties is subject to danger from legislative changes not only in its own country, but in others.

Bounties stimulate production, encourage foreign consumption, establish industries founded on privileges, always threatened by crises. The sugar industry in Europe is the most striking demonstration of this. We hope the Brussels conference will end this absurd system.

YVES GUYOT.

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IRELAND'S INDUSTRIAL REVIVAL.

BY MICHAEL J. MAGEE, MEMBER OF THE IRISH BOARD OF AGRICULTURE.

THE following article tells the story of a nation's industrial decline and fall; also of a movement for the revival of a nation's prosperity, which, judged by either its avowed objects or its accomplished results, possesses the strongest claims upon the sympathy and good will of the greatest industrial nation of the world.

The awakening of a spirit of manly independence and self-reliance, the development of the country's resources, the revival and promotion of trade and industry, the preservation and retention of the people on the land given them by God, the unification of all creeds and classes for the benefit of the community, and the abolition of sectarian ill-feeling—such are the main characteristics of the new industrial movement in Ireland.

The reader will observe that no mention of politics occurs in this table of aims. That is because, since the question relates solely to industrial and commercial concerns, an identity of interest exists among all sections of the people that necessarily excludes the introduction of political and controversial subjects in every shape and form.

To understand thoroughly the present position and needs of Ireland as a commercial country, it will be necessary to recall a few facts which have not, until recently, been brought prominently under the notice of the public, and which in consequence have not been invested with their due significance.

The Irish question should be divided into two phases—the political and the economical.

The various developments of Irish politics have commanded the close attention of the world at large; the material condition and the economic necessities of the Irish people have received but scant consideration, even from some of her staunchest champions.

At the same time, it is of the greatest importance to recognize

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the fact that the possibility of separate consideration of the economical, as distinguished from the political, aspect of Irish affairs, has only arisen within what may be termed, from a historical standpoint, a comparatively recent date.

At the commencement of the nineteenth century, the extirpation of Irish industries was part of the policy of the British Government, due to the fear of Irish competition entertained by English merchants.

The following propositions may be accepted as representing facts authenticated by the testimony of witnesses who certainly cannot be accused of excessive sympathy or undue partiality for the Irish people.

(1.) Ireland, with her excellent natural resources, was at one time a formidable rival to Great Britain in commerce and manufactures. In the language of the report of the Recess Committee, "In every branch of industry, including the smelting of iron, was this competition manifested." "The maintenance of such a rivalry shows that the Irish people once exhibited a high capacity for industrial enterprise, and the Recess Committee believes that that capacity may again be brought into productive activity."

(2.) Legislation was purposely framed by the British Parliament to stamp out this competition and to suppress industries. Again to quote the Recess Committee: "This legislation really left Ireland no chance. It struck at all her industries, not excepting agriculture. It forced the population into entire dependence on the land and reduced the country to an economic condition involving periodical famines. It is not to be wondered at that we at length came to have a population devoid of the industrial spirit. As Lord Dufferin has put it, 'even the traditions of commercial enterprise have perished through desuetude.' Mr. Arthur Balfour, speaking at Alnwick on July 19th, 1895, said that he had learned while he was in Ireland that many of the ills of the country arose from its poverty, and that this poverty was in part the work of England and Scotland."

In support of the contentions above set forth, the following extracts from various authorities may be quoted concerning the restrictive legislation enacted at the close of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries:

"The mere rumors of a rise of industry in Ireland created a panic in the commercial circles in England.*

* Froude. "English in Ireland." Vol. I., p. 443.

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"The commercial leaders were possessed of a terror of Irish rivalry which could not be exorcised."*

"The Navigation Laws prohibited the importation of Irish cattle into England as a public and common nuisance. Irish beef, pork, bacon, butter and cheese were likewise excluded. The growth of our great woollen trade was the result of these agricultural restrictions, the people, by the advice of the Duke of Ormonde, who introduced Walloon families to teach them weaving, turning their attention to sheep.

"This trade having in turn been destroyed, the undertaking of Parliament to encourage the linen trade as a compensation was not kept. The Irish glass trade was ruined by the 19th of George II. Irish cottons were crushed by an import duty of 25 per cent. At one time Ireland was making sails for the entire British navy. This trade was put an end to by imposing duties on sail cloth made of Irish hemp.

"Irish beer, malt, hats, gunpowder, coals, bar iron, ironware and other products were likewise the subject of legislative restrictions. The removal in 1800 of the bounties and protective duties by which the Irish Parliament sought to revive industries between the years 1782 and 1798, exposing these infant industries to the competition of the great capital and long established skill and ability of England, and the civil war of 1798, completed our industrial ruin."

"From Queen Elizabeth's reign until within a few years of the Union, the various commercial confraternities of Great Britain never for a moment relaxed their relentless grip on the trades of Ireland. One by one, each of our nascent industries was either strangled in its birth or handed over, gagged and bound, to the jealous custody of the rival interests in England, until, at last, every fountain of wealth was hermetically sealed. What has been the consequence of such a system pursued with relentless pertinacity for over 250 years? This: that, debarred from every other trade and industry, the entire nation flung itself back on 'the land' with a pitiless impulse, as when a river whose current is suddenly impeded rolls back and drowns the valley it once fertilized."†

Until 1782, "annual shiploads of families poured themselves out of Belfast and Londonderry, going mostly to America with resentment in their hearts."‡

Here let us pause. At this point, the story of Ireland's industrial ruin assumes an aspect of close connection with the expansion and grandeur of the American people. How many Presidents, Governors of States, Judges, Generals and prominent men in every rank of life, in the history of the Great Republic, are descendants of those Irish families that annually "poured themselves out of Belfast and Londonderry going to America with resentment in their hearts!"

We must now consider Ireland a purely agricultural country,

* Froude, "English in Ireland," Vol. I., p. 446.
† Ibid. ‡Ibid.

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not only on account of her soil and climate, but also because of the destruction of her other industries. It naturally follows that the prosperity of the country at large depends on the condition of the agricultural community.

Agriculture being practically the sole industrial pursuit left to the country, let us see how the Irish peasant is prepared to contend with his Continental rivals in the markets of the world.

The important question of land tenure, although beyond the scope of this article, cannot be ignored in discussing a question of Irish economics.

By the provisions of the Land Act of 1881 and other Acts, a tenant can apply to the Land Court to "fix his rent." The judicial rent so determined by the Land Court is subject to revision every fifteen years; improvements made by the tenant are supposed to be his own property, and he enjoys fixity of tenure as long as he pays the judicial rent. Questions of law, and of the fairness of the constitution and of the decisions of the Land Courts, are, however, continually arising; and, undoubtedly, the solution of the difficulty is the abolition of the system of dual ownership and the establishment of "peasant proprietorship."

As a matter of fact, the Government, by virtue of the Land Purchase Act of 1885, advances the purchase money to the tenant in the event of the landlord and tenant mutually agreeing to sell and buy respectively, the tenant being required to repay the Government by forty-nine yearly installments, with a low rate of interest.

Agriculture, like all other sciences and pursuits, has advanced with the times; education in modern systems is essential for its proper development; organization and business methods are imperative if its pursuit is to be made lucrative.

No more striking exemplification of the utility and necessity of progressive and scientifically directed effort can be found than in the industrial advancement of Denmark, Ireland's principal rival in the produce markets of Europe.

The population of Denmark is 2,200,000. At the end of the last century it was one of the poorest countries in Europe. To-day, it is one of the richest, and its progress in wealth is almost entirely the result of its progress in agriculture.

The three essential factors in the agricultural progress of Denmark are (1.) the highly trained intelligence, resourcefulness,

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adaptability, energy and enterprise of the Danish farmer; (2.) the power which is given the Danish farmers by organization; (3.) the effectiveness with which the Government is enabled, chiefly through organization among the farmers, to come to the assistance of their industry with expert advice, technical instruction, and material support.

Unquestionably, the most potent of these factors in Danish prosperity is the second, the power gained by organization, inasmuch as Danish farmers are banded together in various co-operative, voluntary associations or "trusts" for the promotion and development of their common industries. Statistics prove this conclusively. The value of the butter they exported to the United Kingdom in 1893 was $24,529,165. In 1899 they exported butter to the United Kingdom to the value of $38,767,180, an increase in six years of $14,238,015. From 1898 to 1899 there was an increase in the value of butter exported from Denmark of $2,778,000; an increase in the value of bacon exported of $1,250,000; and an increase in the value of eggs exported of $975,000. The annual export of bacon from Denmark is about 200,000,000 pounds in weight.

Irish products once supplied the demand for the above mentioned articles.

Denmark, France, Holland, Belgium, as well as all other civilized countries, possess elaborate Departments of State for Agriculture and Industries, and a remarkable feature of the operations of these various departments is the close association they keep with the voluntary societies of the farmers; in some instances, indeed, the state aid to agriculture is administered through the voluntary associations.

How did Ireland stand prior to 1888? Ireland possessed no Department of State for Agriculture and Industries; there was no organization among farmers for trading purposes; no combination among them for opening up better markets; there were no incentives and no opportunities for raising a superior grade of farm produce; no systems of improvement; no methods of turning farm produce into money save its disposal at the nearest market for whatever price it would fetch. As a trader, the Irish farmer stood isolated, friendless and alone. Day after day, week after week, year after year, he struggled along without advice or help, tilling his land according to the customs of his fathers, dis-

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posing of his farming produce in bad markets for bad prices, fighting the battle of life in a "lone hand" fight.

How could the individual Irish farmer—to say nothing of the handicap imposed upon him by the land tenure system—compete with the powerful, organized, educated and state-aided combinations of French, Danish and Belgian agriculturists? The natural results followed; Ireland's trade withered almost entirely from off the face of the earth and her population dwindled by millions. And the awful emigration drain of the nation's life blood still continues; 42,890 people left Ireland in the year 1900!

The years 1888-1889 saw the introduction and establishment of a great movement for the education, organization and improvement of the farming classes, and for the revival of other industries in Ireland. The Right Honorable Horace Curzon Plunkett had made a systematic study of the economic, educational and trading advantages possessed by other countries, and consequently became impressed with a sense of the urgent necessity that existed for equipping his fellow countrymen with qualifications and methods that would enable them to compete, at least on terms of equality, with their trade rivals.

In the year 1889, Mr. Plunkett founded the Irish Agricultural Organization Society, commonly called the I. A. O. S., for the purpose of introducing the principles of organization and co-operation among Irish farmers.

The I. A. O. S. has now about 500 societies established throughout Ireland, with about 50,000 members representing all creeds and classes of the farming population. The principal functions of its staff are: Organizing voluntary associations among the farmers, such as co-operative creameries, agricultural, poultry, flax and home industry societies, agricultural banks, etc.; guiding and assisting with expert advice the operations of such societies; providing courses of lectures; supplying technical instruction; securing superior marketing facilities; disseminating useful information; creating village libraries; conducting agricultural experiments; and, generally, promoting the interests and raising the status, social and economic, of the farmers of Ireland in every possible manner.

The dairy societies, or, as they are called, co-operative creameries, number 252; the butter sales of these creameries for 1900 amounted to $3,519,130.

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Co-operation as applied to the butter trade means that a body of farmers, with the assistance of the I. A. O. S., form themselves into an association or company, secure a suitable building, furnish it with the very best modern machinery for pasteurizing the milk and making the butter, employ trained butter-makers, supply the milk fresh every morning, control the management of the creamery by a committee chosen by themselves of the best business men among them and, finally, share all the profits of their trading transactions.

As an indication of the wonderful success of the Irish co-operative creamery system, the following extracts are quoted from a newspaper article describing the great English Agricultural Show held at the Agricultural Hall, Islington, in October last:

"The exhibits of the Irish co-operative dairies have practically swept the board.

"One of the greatest authorities in England says: 'Three years ago, Irish butter was scarcely fit to eat. To-day, it has attained such a standard and, owing to the methods employed, is so uniform in flavor and type that it can easily compete with the most popular Danish product.' "

So confident are the Irish co-operative people of the excellence of their butter that a $2,500 challenge has just been issued for a trial test between Irish and Danish butter.

A very important feature of the work of the I. A. O. S. is the establishment of agricultural banks on the plan first introduced into Germany by Dr. Raffeisen in 1849. The system of the agricultural bank may be described shortly as follows: A body of farmers form themselves into a society, and, on their joint security, borrow money from the newly established Department of Agriculture, or from some banking company, at four or five per cent. With the money thus secured, the Committee makes loans to approved applicants at five or six per cent. interest for *productive* purposes only. Until this system was introduced, the poor Irish farmer in need of a little money was obliged to apply to some "gombeen" man, as country money lenders are called, or to some "loan bank," and almost invariably was obliged to pay about thirty per cent. interest on the loan.

All co-operative societies are managed by committees of men who reside in the locality, aided by the best expert advice from the I. A. O. S.

In addition to the material benefits conferred by these so-

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cieties, their operations have a great educational effect in all communities where they are established. Farmers learn superior methods and develop business instincts; but, above all the other desirable features possessed by these voluntary associations, undoubtedly their greatest claim for sympathy and admiration is their practical fostering of the great principle of self-help which is their foundation and mainspring.

One of the strictest rules of the co-operative societies is that neither religious nor political affairs shall be introduced, or even adverted to, in connection with the business transacted, and the result of this salutary regulation is to be found in the disappearance of bigotry and intolerance wherever co-operative principles are introduced. Catholics and Protestants work together earnestly and harmoniously for the benefit of the community; and many creameries, especially in the North of Ireland, have been started and organized by the shoulder-to-shoulder exertions of the Catholic priest and the Presbyterian minister.

In the year 1895, Mr. Horace Plunkett organized and convened a committee, consisting of leading Irishmen of all political and religious parties, for the purpose of investigating the economic needs of the country, of ascertaining the superior advantages possessed by other countries, and endeavoring to secure similar advantages for the Irish people by means of the establishment of a state-aided Department of Agriculture and Industries. The investigating body thus constituted was called the Recess Committee, and the result of its labors was the production of a report which is the standard authority on the economic position of Ireland at the present time.

The demand for governmental aid in the effort to develop the resources of Ireland was not long in eliciting a favorable response; indeed, the policy of Mr. A. J. Balfour and of Mr. Gerald Balfour has been, on social and economic questions, a policy of progress and material improvement.

The Agriculture and Technical Instruction Act (Ireland), 1899, established a state Department for Agriculture and Industries, and provided about $1,000,000 a year for those objects. The expenditure of this money is controlled by two boards, principally consisting of elected representatives, the Board of Agriculture and the Board of Technical Instruction.

A Council of Agriculture, consisting of two representatives

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from every county council in Ireland, with additional members nominated by the Department, is also constituted for the purpose of discussing all matters of public interest in connection with any of the purposes of the Act, and advising the Department.

It would be impossible to enumerate all the duties and functions performed by the Department. Among many others we may mention the following schemes already put in operation by the Agricultural Board: The improvement of the breeding of horses, cattle and live stock; the prevention and cure of disease; the proper transit of live stock and farm produce on trains and steamships; the revival and extension of the flax trade; the introduction of superior agricultural education; the collection and publication of statistics; the development of the butter, cheese and bee-keeping industries; the prevention of the ravages of injurious insects; the introduction of better-class seeds and the testing and analysis of same; the dissemination of information by pamphlets, etc.

The establishment of technical schools in the urban districts throughout the country is occupying the attention of the Board of Technical Instruction.

The interests of the sea fisheries are under the control of the Board of Agriculture, and include the construction of piers, the supply of fishing boats and gear, and the encouragement of any industries connected with fishing.

The officials of the Department are always ready and desirous to receive suggestions and assistance of every kind in any of their efforts to introduce improvement.

The adoption of the provisions of the Agriculture and Technical Instruction Act throughout Ireland rests with the local authorities; many of the county councils are adopting systems of employment of itinerant instructors on agricultural subjects, combined with the establishment of experimental plots. Itinerant instructors on the breeding and rearing of poultry are also at work throughout the country. All the county councils of Ireland, save two, have taken advantage of improvement schemes for the breeding of horses, cattle and live stock promulgated by the Department of Agriculture.

The application of the benefits of the Agriculture and Technical Instruction Act is limited by one restriction, but that restriction is in itself the embodiment of a noble principle, the principle of self-help; the Department cannot, except under ex-

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ceptional circumstances, apply any of the funds at its disposal for the purposes of the act, to any scheme that is not locally supported. Self-help is the genesis of the voluntary association system, the "condition precedent" to the reception of state aid.

Such is the story of the commercial and industrial downfall of Ireland and its causes, of the revival movement and its methods. We have considered the changing of the old order and the reincarnation of a spirit of manly effort and of progress among her people; we have learned of England's efforts to atone for the cruel wrong done by the extinction of Ireland's industries, and of the provision made for the industrial regeneration of the country; we see convincing proofs that the farmers of Ireland possess intelligence, resourcefulness, adaptability, energy and enterprise when these latent faculties are trained and scientifically developed.

The new movement is founded on common sense and, in its progressive aspect, is in perfect accord with the exigencies of existence in the twentieth century. The difficulties and obstacles that still obstruct the course of progress are great. Ireland's trade rivals have had a long start in the possession of superior methods and educational systems. The measure of success already attained under the new order of things, however, is a forecast of future triumphs.

We may look forward to a day at no very distant date, when Ireland, without negation or abatement of political demands, but with commerce increased, industries revived and trade developed, may take her proper place in the markets of the world with honor to herself and material prosperity among her people.

MICHAEL J. MAGEE.

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NEED OF A PERMANENT CENSUS OFFICE.

BY WILLIAM R. MERRIAM, DIRECTOR OF THE TWELFTH CENSUS.

THE writer was placed in charge of the work of the Twelfth Census by President McKinley in March, 1899. The property he inherited from the Eleventh Census consisted of an old typewriter, much out of repair, a horse of doubtful age, a wagon practically useless, an old cart, a few scattered papers and records, a large number—something over 128,000—of census reports which had never been placed in the hands of the public, and a few odds and ends of office furniture. This was the sum total of the visible official remains of the Eleventh Census Bureau; all that was left of the plant after the expenditure of more than eleven million dollars. No one could be reasonably charged with blame in the matter. It was simply the result of a system. It was the old story of an emergency work.

The Director of the Twelfth Census was expected, in the fifteen months' time allowed before the date set for the enumeration, to organize completely and train thoroughly the force required to carry into effect the provisions of the act creating the Office. With practically no data to guide him, and assisted by few of the employees who had worked under Superintendent Porter, he was expected to prepare all the necessary blanks; to secure suitable quarters; to examine a host of applicants from whom he was to select a competent clerical force of three thousand six hundred people; to suggest names to the President for three hundred supervisors; to designate suitable persons to take the census in Alaska and the Hawaiian Islands; to choose over fifty-five thousand enumerators, making such examination of the applicants by means of test schedules as was deemed desirable to prove their competency; to ascertain the qualification of, and appoint, twenty-five hundred special agents to collect industrial statistics; and, above all things, to select experts of acknowledged character,

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ability and experience to command this vast force properly; to instruct these individuals in their work; and, finally, to accomplish the mandate of Congress that the nine quarto volumes constituting four principal reports upon population, manufactures, agriculture and vital statistics should be in the hands of the American people by the first day of July, 1902. This undertaking would have been much easier had the Director been able to draw on a force of men of experience in statistical work. Fortunately, he was able to obtain the services of a few of the experts employed in the Eleventh Census. Without their aid it is doubtful whether compliance with the law would have been possible.

It is no easy task to find a man in the full vigor of life who is trained as an expert in statistical lines, and who, at the same time, possesses the executive ability to utilize efficiently the large clerical force necessary to perform the enormous amount of work required within a limited time. The Chief Statistician for Population, Mr. W. C. Hunt, possesses not only a thorough knowledge of statistical work, but also administrative powers of a high order, which enable him to employ profitably two thousand men and women. The Chief Statistician for Agriculture, Mr. L. G. Powers, was expected to organize a force of about thirteen hundred people, required to examine the schedules for 5,750,000 farms, and classify these farms according to size, crops grown and their value, conditions under which they were held—whether owned or rented—the financial results of each farm, live-stock, and other information.

The work of the Twelfth Census is sufficiently well advanced to indicate that the requirements of Congress, so far as the date of the completion of the principal reports is concerned, will be complied with. This will enable the officials of the Census Office to place in the hands of the public the nine volumes on Population, Manufactures, Agriculture and Vital Statistics about three and one-half years earlier than heretofore.

The use of the Hollerith electrical tabulating machines has enabled the Director to finish his task in the time allotted. This would not have been possible if it had been necessary to do the work by hand.

It may be interesting to know that the number of cards which have been run through these electrical tabulating machines is the equivalent of one card run through 672,800,000 times. This

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will give a faint idea of the vast amount of labor involved in the different branches of this stupendous statistical undertaking.

The clerical force was appointed and organized with a view to finishing the task well within the prescribed period, but had the writer and his statisticians possessed the experience which has come to them as a result of the last two years' labors, a very large saving could have been effected, not only in time, but also in the number of people employed. There were absolutely no records in the office to indicate the period that would be required for any portion of the work, or the probable cost. This lack of records has greatly hampered the statistical work of the Census Office. It may be stated, however, that a complete history of every important transaction relating to the Twelfth Census has been prepared and placed in the library of the Census Office for use in the future, so that the official responsible for the work of the Thirteenth Census will have the benefit of the experience of those who had charge of the Twelfth.

The writer has referred to the "assets" turned over to him at the organization of the Twelfth Census Office; that calls to mind the fact that the furniture and fixtures of the present Office, including a modern printing office, are worth $100,000. These would be practically lost in the event of the disruption of the present organization. The near approach of the completion of the principal reports, and of the consequent disintegration of the force, has furnished occasion for renewing the demand that the Census Office be made permanent. To close this office would be very much like destroying a cotton mill when there has been an overproduction of cloth. No sane person would think of razing the building, discharging the experts and dissipating the records of a commercial institution, simply because there was a temporary lack of demand for the particular article produced; and yet this is what has occurred decennially in the census bureau. It has been necessary to rebuild the whole structure at great cost and with much effort, a large part of which at least would have been unnecessary had the organization been continuous.

The idea of a permanent census bureau is not a new one. The establishment of a permanent office was first advocated in 1888 by General Francis A. Walker, Superintendent of the Ninth and Tenth Censuses. Speaking of his own experience and of the difficulty of collecting and digesting the data, he said:

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"What is eminently to be desired in the interests of our statistical service is that the census should be confined to an enumeration of population, coupled only with one other class of statistics, to be hereafter mentioned, such an enumeration to be conducted once in ten years, as now, or better, once in five years, as befits so great and rapidly growing a people; while the remaining statistical inquiries now connected with the census, and even many others required to meet the increasing demand for exact knowledge, should be set on foot and conducted in proper succession, by the same bureau of the Government, during the intervals of the decennial or quinquennial censuses. Such a system would dispense with the necessity for suddenly raising and suddenly disbanding a large office; would retain permanently in service a considerable force of trained clerks, enabling them to acquire skill, insight, and rapidity of working by continuous experience; and would thus at once diminish the cost and increase the value of the results obtained."

From the time when General Walker began the discussion, it has not ceased to be a question of public interest and one which has been more or less agitated in Congress. Hon. Carroll D. Wright, United States Commissioner of Labor, in the *Popular Science Monthly* for November, 1891, expressed his substantial agreement with the views of his predecessor, in the language quoted below:

"The very worst form [feature] of the present system is the temporary nature of the service. . . . The first step toward correction lies in the direction of the establishment of a permanent census office, under which there ought to be a constant force of trained and experienced statistical clerks, and the collection of facts [should be] distributed over the ten years, instead of being crowded into a few months. . . . This would involve the employment constantly of a much reduced office force, and a field force, except for the enumeration of the population, gradually becoming more and more skillful. The expense during the whole ten years would be somewhat larger than is now involved, but the results would be of such infinitely greater value, that the increased expense would not be a matter for a moment's consideration."

Superintendent Porter, who, in the judgment of the writer, accomplished very satisfactory results in the Eleventh Census, considering the many difficulties which surrounded him, prepared a very voluminous report upon the subject of a permanent census office, and went so far as to draft a bill embodying the essential provisions. Mr. Porter referred particularly to the lack of sufficient time for preparation for the task. He advocated certain other reforms which, had they been adopted, undoubtedly would have proved useful. In Mr. Porter's report were embodied expressions of opinion from eminent statisticians in this country and

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in Europe, officers of commercial organizations, State commissioners of agriculture, officers of State agricultural and horticultural societies, directors of agricultural experiment stations, commissioners of State labor bureaus, officers of boards of health and educational and benevolent institutions and from bishops and prominent churchmen, favoring the permanency of the Census Office.

General Walker thought that a permanent establishment would prove economical in the way of "preventing errors and getting more for your money," and he expressed the conviction that the chiefs and expert special agents need opportunity for more careful reflection in order to perfect the service, and that this is one of the most weighty arguments in favor of the proposed change. The writer is thoroughly in accord with General Walker's view. The work of preparation is simply one of a hurried physical performance, the limited time allowing the experts no opportunity for consideration of improved methods. There is no time to think, but merely to work. I quote General Walker again:

"When the next census is in preparation, two or three years should be allowed for the men to be getting their sheets up, or putting their heads together, looking over the results of past work, seeing where they have made mistakes, because no man ever worked without making mistakes, and there never was a man who would not do a certain work twenty or thirty per cent better the second time." The facts contained in the schedules "can be combined in almost infinite relations, and to statisticians and economists it is often true that the statistics which attract least popular interest are the most significant and instructive. A comparatively small trained force could work on that kind of material to an extent impossible where you have only half-trained clerks."

The Commissioner of Labor, Hon. Carroll D. Wright, said:

"No man, I do not care how great he is, how great a statistician or how great an administrator, can take a census creditably to himself or to the Federal Government under the present system. It can not be done." "Our regular army is small, but it is the skeleton of a great organization. It should be so with the census office. The constant bringing in of raw men for statistical work does more damage to statistical accuracy and to the science of statistics than any one element."

Some years ago the Census Committee of the House of Representatives took testimony as to the advisability of a permanent census bureau, and in February, 1893, filed a report of which the following is an extract. It states the necessities of the case

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in succinct form and shows the situation just as it exists at the present time:

"Your committee is of the opinion that the field of operation of the census office is so broad, and such a wide range of subjects are now embraced by the several branches of inquiry, that it is impossible to do them full justice with any organization possible under existing law. To accomplish the work now undertaken by the decennial census requires a force so large as to be unwieldy, and which it is impossible to form of proper material. Were the bureau so organized that its work would be continuous, the force required would be comparatively small, and competent statisticians and specialists could be secured for the service. It is also of opinion that the amount of money needed to carry on such a continuous bureau, distributing its work through the ten-year periods, would be materially less than the amount which would be necessary to take the census under the present system; and that, in addition, the work of collection and compilation of the returns would be more accurately and satisfactorily performed, and the results obtained would be of greater value."

As I write, the faces of five Superintendents look down upon me. They include all but one of those who have had charge of the census work during the past five decades. Mr. Kennedy was the first Superintendent, in 1850, and Mr. Carroll D. Wright was the last, in 1893. The average period of service of each man was less than four and a half years. It can be well said that no one Superintendent was permitted to serve long enough to gain sufficient experience to be of real service in directing the work of the bureau. Our plan, so far as continuity in office is concerned, is quite different from that of foreign countries. Seven statisticians in as many countries in Europe have been conspicuous in statistical and census work for periods varying from sixteen to forty-two years. Austria, England, the German Empire, Hungary and Italy have the services of men of long years of experience in statistical work. The average length of service for the chief statisticians residing in the countries indicated above has been about twenty-four years—a result quite different from that of our own system, so far as continuance in office is concerned. Indeed, since the present office was organized we have lost a number of valued experts owing to the uncertainty of the continuance of the office. Two of our expert statisticians have withdrawn to accept permanent positions elsewhere. Other important officers, out of pure devotion to the work, after almost insistent pressure on the part of the Director, have declined invitations to accept more remunerative positions. It is unnecessary to state that these

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frequent changes in officers occupying high places create a feeling of uncertainty and impair the general efficiency. In a bureau charged with expending a yearly average of $1,500,000, and $9,000,000 a year as a maximum, it would be extravagant to cast to the winds the experience of the executive heads after the Government has paid so dearly for it.

The conversion of the Census Office into a permanent branch of governmental service would insure the retention of the most capable and efficient members of the force, as a skeleton organization and a nucleus for future operations. It would provide a career, moreover, for those who desire to follow statistical work as a life vocation. As a matter of fact, the study of statistics, as a branch of learning in the great collegiate institutions of the country, has been taken up only within the last few years. The many young men who have devoted themselves more especially to the consideration of statistical inquiries would be afforded ample opportunity for the prosecution of their chosen life-work, which is now denied them because of the uncertainty of service. The Government would undoubtedly be the gainer by the employment of young men who have had technical training. In 1800 no country possessed an organization for collecting information on the subject of agriculture, manufactures or vital statistics. In fact, none of our foreign brothers had made any provision for a count of population at regular intervals. By the end of the century all the great civilized countries had provided for regular investigations into matters pertaining to national life and activity. These investigations have reached their highest perfection in our own land. The founders of the Republic evidently had no conception of what a census would mean at the beginning of the twentieth century. From a mere enumeration of population for the purpose of Congressional apportionment it has become a great national work, a photograph of the national characteristics, showing the industrial progress, sociological conditions and wonderful resources of soil, as well as other facts incident to a high order of civilization. The proper presentation of this great mass of information necessarily requires a trained force, and, as the years go by, the necessity will become greater in this regard.

After practical experience in the work of the Census Office, Prof. W. F. Willcox, of Cornell University, a Chief Statistician of the Twelfth Census, declares in a recent report that it is only

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through a permanent census office that the Government and country can profit adequately by the experience of the organizing and directing heads; and that only through a permanent census office can the necessary system of voluntary co-operation with State, county and city offices and private organizations be developed and maintained.

"Only a permanent census," writes Mr. Horace Wadlin, Chief of the Labor Bureau of the State of Massachusetts, "can possibly insure a trained force of expert statisticians." If the century just completed "was the statistical century *par excellence*," as Sir Robert Giffen declares, its successor will far surpass it, not only in labor, caused by increasing population, but by the extent and variety of the statistics demanded. The question, therefore, of a permanent census office has ceased to be academic and theoretical, as it was when it was first proposed by General Walker, and is now practical and pressing. Each decade presents problems of more magnitude than its predecessors; there are more people to count, more industries to report, more farms to inventory, and more diseases and deaths to chronicle. In 1910 we may confidently expect to enroll one hundred millions of souls. This will include Alaska, the Hawaiian Islands, the Philippines and Porto Rico. To count all of Uncle Sam's children, not only in North America but in the islands of the sea, will require an enormous force, and great skill and wide experience to direct it.

The early censuses were tabulated by hand, but thirty years ago it became clearly evident that a point would soon be reached when it would be impossible to tabulate the returns of a census by such rudimentary methods within the limits of a decade. This point was reached and mechanical tabulation became a necessity. So, in the more general subject of census organization, it also became evident that there must be a point where vast population, extent of territory and diversity of subjects considered, would make it impossible to comply with the law, through the instrumentality of a hastily organized and temporary census office. In the opinion of those best informed that point is close at hand, and the attempt to complete the Thirteenth Census under existing conditions, within the time allotted by the present act, may well cause hesitation on the part of any man, however well equipped he may be or highly endowed with vigor.

WILLIAM R. MERRIAM.

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THE ANGLO-FRENCH-AMERICAN SHORE.

BY P. T. M'GRATH, EDITOR OF THE "EVENING HERALD," ST. JOHN'S, NEWFOUNDLAND.

IT will probably occasion no little surprise to American readers to learn that the famous "French Shore" of Newfoundland is really an American shore as well, and that an adjustment of the dispute concerning the coast line possesses a direct and vital interest for the people of the United States. The international entanglement identified with this "French Shore" is taking on an acute phase just now, through the lapsing at New Year of the *modus vivendi* governing the fishery on the coast, which arrangement the Colonial Ministry is unwilling to renew, throwing the responsibility for further action upon the British and French Governments, which are at present engaged in an endeavor to compass a settlement of the whole difficulty that has now existed for nearly two hundred years.

The right to participate in the fisheries on the Western foreshore of Newfoundland is enjoyed by three nations, Great Britain, France and the United States—a condition of things which is without a parallel in the world to-day. The rights possessed by France extend around to a portion of the northeast coast, passing out through the Straits of Belle Isle and down to Cape John; and, in a similar manner, the United States exercises the right of fishing on the southwest shore, from Cape Ray east to Ramea. The extraordinary and anomalous position is thus presented that Great Britain has to share the fisheries on the northeast coast with one great Power, and on the southwest coast with another, while on the west coast, considered by itself, both of them compete with her.

It may tend towards a more intelligent grasp of the situation

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if the rights of the respective Powers are briefly detailed, in their chronological order.

The island of Newfoundland was discovered by Cabot in 1497, while on a voyage from England. It was annexed by Sir Humphrey Gilbert for the British Crown in 1583, was gradually settled by emigrants from Devonshire, and was governed as a dependency from early in the seventeenth century. A noted fishing region even in those days, its rugged shores were braved by the hardy seafarers from the West of England, and the value of its products was recognized in the rude chronicles of the Elizabethan period, being described as "richer than the gold mines of Peru." Britain exercises sovereignty over the whole island, and fishery rights over its seaboard, by the title of ownership and possession, and by the express terms of the several treaties between herself and France during the past two centuries, the latter country having been her unsuccessful antagonist in the wars which were waged for the mastery of the island.

By the Treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, amplified and amended by the similar instruments executed at Paris in 1763 and at Versailles in 1783, the full sovereignty of Newfoundland was ceded to Great Britain, but to France was given the right to catch and dry fish upon the aforementioned portions of its coast; to build temporary huts and stages for cleaning and curing the fish, and to occupy the Miquelon Isles, off the southern coast of Newfoundland, as French territory, to be used as a real shelter for the fishermen of that nationality frequenting the region.

The right which the American colonies possessed, up to the time of their throwing off the British authority, of fishing in all the North Atlantic waters was continued to them after the War of Independence, and was exercised by them until 1812, when the rupture of friendly relations deprived them of it. Quarrels resulting from the attempts of the United States fishermen to continue in the pursuit, the Convention of 1818 was agreed to, which gave them the right to take fish of every kind on the south-west and west coasts of this island, and to dry and cure this fish on the unsettled parts of the southern seaboard, said right to cease on any portion of it as soon as such portion of the coast became peopled, unless the previous consent of the inhabitants could be procured. The United States renounced any fishery rights or claims to take, dry or cure fish in any other portion of

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British North America, save on these sections of our coast line and a few other localities specified in detail.

The above epitome serves to show two things—the very great importance the other Powers attached to the right of taking fish in the waters of Newfoundland, and the very slight store which the British Government set upon the possession of one-third of the entire coast line of the island so recently as eighty years ago. The besetting sin of Imperial administrators in dealing with the colony—ignorance of its circumstances and indifference to its possibilities—is here abundantly exposed. The truism that "what England gains by the sword she loses by diplomacy" finds an apt illustration in the case of Newfoundland. Concessions were secured by all comers, and the prospect of the colony ever developing other resources, the exploitation of which might be resisted by the nations possessing fishery rights on the seaboard, was never given a thought. France and the United States, secure in the enjoyment of their treaty concessions, undertook to utilize them to the fullest possible extent. Newfoundland, as may be seen from the map, almost encloses the Gulf of St. Lawrence, two entrances only existing, Belle Isle Strait, on the north, about twenty miles wide at its narrowest point, and Cabot Strait, on the south, with a width of sixty miles. The gulf thus takes the form of an enclosed basin, blocked for some five months each year with great ice-floes, which render the fishing season along the west coast of Newfoundland both short and precarious. Consequently, the French conducted their major operations on the northeast coast, and the Americans made the southwest littoral their headquarters, both in time largely depleting the adjacent waters of any fishes of commercial or economic value. So unremunerative has the fishery on the former coast line become that on the two hundred miles of foreshore which it comprises the French maintained only two fishing stations during the past season, and even these met with such poor success that it is probable they will abandon it altogether next year. On the southwest coast the Americans no longer exercise their rights at all. The codfish they practically extirpated, and the settlers who made their homes in this quarter, bent on the same pursuit, in time forced them off the shore by appropriating the best locations. The settlement of the coast deprives the Americans of the power of drying fish there, and hence they only frequent it nowadays

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for the purpose of procuring bait, which they purchase from the residents, as they do not themselves carry the appliances for netting this essential.

The practical value of these two strips of seashore being, therefore, of no account, it is clear that the seat of the present industrial operations of the fishermen of the three countries, and the theatre of any possible future international difficulty, must be the western water front of the island, and, that being the case, it is best to approach the consideration of that aspect of the matter by examining the value of the relative tenures of the men in possession. Great Britain, in the first place, claims not alone the widest and most comprehensive rights as to fishing, but also, as owner of the island, the power to develop the hinterland of this western slope, the resources of which are said to be both varied and valuable. Her claim does not seem an extravagant one, when her title to the ownership of the territory is taken into consideration.

But right at this juncture arises the much-vexed question of "French rights." As previously explained, the French have the right to catch fish in the territorial waters of the coast (the offshore waters being free to all), and to dry it on the strand, maintain temporary structures on the coast for the latter purpose, and cut wood in the forests to construct these erections. It would seem that no ambiguity could be possible in this respect, for the provisions are clear; but, strangely enough, the key to the gravity of the problem now taxing the statesmanship of England and France is afforded by the simple query: "What is meant by the word fish, as used in the treaties?"

"Codfish," say the British; "the only fish known, caught and of value in the region at the time the treaties were made, and therefore the only fish which could have been meant by those who framed the treaties; furthermore, the only fish which is dried and cured by exposure on stages on the beach, as the process is detailed in the treaties."

The French repudiate this construction and maintain that every fish or marine animal found on the coast comes within the meaning of the treaty terms. On the strength of their contention they have set up substantial permanent factories and gone into the business of canning lobsters, an enlargement of the treaty privileges which the British maintain is altogether unwarranted

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by the language of the instruments. But that represents only the first issue upon which there is a disagreement. The second lies in the French contention that their fishery privileges are exclusive, or to be enjoyed by them alone, while the British argument is that these rights are merely concurrent, with the colonists participating on the same basis, saving only that they are not to interfere with the Frenchmen by their competition. The British Monarch attached to the Treaty of Versailles, in 1783, a private declaration that he would use his best efforts to prevent his subjects hampering those of his brother of France, who on his part pledged himself that the Miquelon Isles should never become an object of jealousy between the two nations. On the strength of the former declaration the French set up their claim to exclusive rights of fishing, and to the uninterrupted use of the strand for half a mile from high water around the whole eight hundred miles of coast comprised in the disputed territory. The French have still further complicated the original issues by constantly enlarging their demands and asserting new claims, putting forward the most vexatious and unfounded pretensions; and the British authorities, regardless of parties or policies, have invariably acquiesced in the propositions advanced by the French, though nominally refusing to subscribe to them. The British Empire has never been in a position, in recent years, when British rights could be adequately asserted here without risk of precipitating war with France, and to avoid this until in a position to force her own views, England is obliged to tamely submit to French dictation in this quarter.

Repeated attempts have been made to settle the question, but as they have always been characterized by a sacrifice of the colony's rights by the British plenipotentiaries, and as the colony is entitled to decide whether the terms are satisfactory or not, she has invariably rejected them. The practice of the British Foreign Office has been to entrust the negotiations to Under-Secretaries who have never seen Newfoundland. The French, on the contrary, choose an Admiral who has served on the disputed coast. Therefore the potential prospect of France's getting the best of the bargain is always assured, and the colony vetoes the draft arrangement.

Not until Mr. Chamberlain took charge of the Colonial Office was there a British Minister who seemed to realize what was

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due by him and his colleagues to the oldest colony of the Empire; and one of his first acts was to despatch to this island a Royal Commission of Inquiry to investigate the whole question of French rights and obtain official data as to the actual condition of affairs on the Treaty Coast. These Commissioners found that the total catch of cod by the French on the seaboard over which their rights extend did not exceed 15,000 quintals in a season, a quantity which would not make more than a cargo for one tramp steamer to carry to market. The whole French personnel on the coast was under 600, stationed in sixteen harbors and fishing within well-defined limits, so that the resident fishermen caused them no inconvenience. The French also canned about 16,000 cases of lobsters, in addition to their catch of cod, having ten canneries in operation. Yet, in the face of their small and declining occupation of the coast, in the face of the shrinkage of their industries from twenty-five years ago, when they had 130 stations on the coast and an annual catch of 350,000 quintals of cod, they were found by the Commissioners to be hampering the industries of the settlers and enforcing their autocratic pretensions to the same extravagant extent as ever. British warships were at their beck and call, to drive the cod-catcher off his fishing ground so that the Frenchman might occupy it, or to harry the lobster-man who was canning in defiance of the infamous *modus vivendi* executed in 1890, which penalized a perfectly legitimate industry and put it in the power of British naval officers to banish their fellow-subjects from their own soil. The Commissioners further found that the opening of any mines was forbidden, because such might interfere with the French fishery. For the same reason a wharf was not permitted to be built on the coast, and more than one has been torn down by the warships. Only last season, to refute the charge of the French Commodore that a certain building, erected on the strand, was a sedentary structure, the British commander had to land a party of bluejackets, put rollers under the building, and move it some distance. The mining, homestead and timber leases granted for the coast all contain a clause that they are issued "subject to the French Treaty rights."

The Commissioners made a cruise around the coast, to find that the French, in blank defiance of the treaties, which prohibited them from any permanent occupation of the shore, had

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erected stables and storehouses at one point, where they kept cattle and supplies for the use of their warships, and at other centres had established stores, by means of which they trafficked with the settlers, smuggling great quantities of goods and liquors from St. Pierre in their fishing schooners. By this means they demoralized the legitimate trade of the resident dealers, who were obliged to pay duties to the Newfoundland Customs. The French had, at various other harbors along the coast, seized upon the lands and fishing stations of the settlers, who could secure no legal redress for their dispossession. They had, again, sent boats from their warships time after time to cut up the nets of the settlers whom they regarded as interfering with the French trawlers. They had overhauled the Newfoundland vessels in territorial waters, by means of launches from the French cruisers, and compelled them to show their official papers. They had published proclamations in several harbors, enunciating the priority of French rights and threatening severe penalties upon all violators thereof. They had summarily ejected prospectors and compelled capitalists to abandon valuable mines in despair of being able to work them. They had been persecuting the settlers in every conceivable manner, terrorizing the unlettered population by their assumption of authority and the ready aid given them by the British warships, asserting the most arrogant pretensions, and exercising sovereign rights on a coast where, really, they were only permitted to fish during the summer months. In a word, they were found to be persistently and flagrantly violating the treaties, trusting to the license which had been permitted them in the past, and to what they thought the "backboneless policy" of the British Ministry to carry them through and prevent an outburst of indignation on the part of the aggrieved Power such as would have been the outcome of the exposure in any other country.

But the French made a great mistake when they counted upon the acquiescence of Mr. Chamberlain in their proceedings, for as soon as the Commissioners returned to England and laid before him an outline of their work and findings, he began a vigorous platform crusade against the intolerable conditions created by the French occupation of the coast. He berated the interlopers in a series of speeches, in which he asserted that France was adopting a pin-prick policy, was strangling the commerce of the colony without deriving any benefit whatever from such a course

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herself. He adopted his characteristic method; instead of enunciating diplomatic platitudes, he strongly and aggressively outlined the case for the two countries, and warned France that she must be prepared to quit ere long, on a basis of compensation in money or territory elsewhere. This unexpected attitude on the part of a British Minister precipitated a complete change of policy by France. She as good as subscribed to the doctrine laid down by Mr. Chamberlain. Admiral Reveillere, who commanded on this station some years ago, was put forward to declare, by a letter to the Paris *Matin* (the letter being undoubtedly written with the sanction of the Government), that "the French shore is no longer of any value to France," while Marc Landry, the well-known writer, declared "that the fishing rights of the Republic in Newfoundland waters are not worth the shedding of the blood of a singie French seaman." In view of these and other utterances of like effect, it is clear that France is at last coming to see the question in its true light, though the prolongation of the South African war has made it impossible for Great Britain to push forward proposals for a settlement of the whole dispute in all its different aspects.

The British idea is to effect an agreement with France for a renunciation of her rights in this region, France to be paid in cash for giving up her Treaty coast liberties, and to be granted some territorial equivalent elsewhere for ceding up to England the Miquelon Isles, which form the base of operations for the whole Gallic fishing industry in North America, whether on the coast of Newfoundland or on the great submarine banks to which it gives its name, and which are the home of the finest codfish in the world. It is as a depot for procuring bait with which to carry on this bank fishery, and as a base for supplies and shelter, that the French mainly use these Miquelon Isles, the capital of which is St. Pierre, and it is over the preventing of the Frenchmen from obtaining the bait from our littoral waters that one of the most acrimonious disputes subsidiary to this main French shore question arose, threatening to involve the two nations in war more than once, owing to the friction occurring each spring between the rival fishermen.

It now becomes proper to consider the rights which the Americans possess on the west coast. These are quite clear and well defined, for, profiting by the bitter experience which the am-

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biguity of the treaties with France caused, the first article of the Convention of 1818 stipulated that "the inhabitants of the United States shall have, forever, in common with the subjects of His Britannic Majesty, the liberty to take *fish of every kind* on that part of the coast of Newfoundland, etc." The American right is therefore "concurrent," it exists for all time, and it applies to every kind of fish. It is a concession of rare commercial value, and if the fisheries were conducted upon any kind of scientific basis, and with judicious regulations calculated to perpetuate the fish life of the North Atlantic, it would provide an unfailing mine of wealth for the New England fishermen. Even as it is, it is the existence of this right to fish in Newfoundland waters which renders it possible for the deep-sea fisheries of which Massachusetts is the centre to be prosecuted with success, for it is the bait obtained in Newfoundland harbors which forms the indispensable requisite for carrying on the great cod, haddock and halibut fisheries of the Grand Banks, which are so vividly pictured in Kipling's "Captains Courageous." The herring is the best bait fish known; and, besides being in large demand as an article of food, it forms the foundation of the operations of every American fishing vessel. The herrings first appear on the west coast in the early fall, and a fleet of about fifty American vessels conveys cargoes of 1,000 barrels each to the home markets, where they are eagerly bought up by the scores of deep-sea fishing schooners which ply their calling on the banks, especially the Georges and Southern ledges, the whole winter through. Later the herring make their way around to Placentia and Fortune Bays, on the south coast, where the American "herringers" follow them, and as the taking of the fishes calls for costly seines which the vessels do not find it profitable to carry, the colony permits them to purchase what herring they require from the coast folk at a stated figure per barrel, which makes this a paying winter industry for her own people. The Americans also find it a very lucrative venture, for the French are not on the coast at this season, and so there is no interference from them or warship patrols to spoil the "hauls" of herring.

But in the spring the Americans have not the same good fortune. At this season Bay St. George, sixty miles from Cape Ray, is the herring centre, the fishes coming in there to spawn. The prosecution of the bank fishery is then at its height, and

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herrings for bait are then the great desideratum, and French, American, Canadian and Newfoundland vessels gather there, sometimes to the number of 100 sail or more. The French here maintain their prior, or exclusive, rights, claiming to take the herrings before any other fishermen, and without any interference from them. A British warship is always stationed in the bay when the baiting season begins, and she invariably upholds the French in their contention. Some years ago a tentative agreement was made by the two Commodores to the effect that the French should forego their right to net herrings on condition that the settlers supply them with what quantity they required, at the maximum price of one dollar a barrel. In accordance with this understanding, the British gunboats compel the resident herring-catchers to bait the French vessels at whatever price they are willing to pay, and not a herring is permitted to be put on board a vessel of any other nationality, even if paying a higher price, until all the Frenchmen in port have been supplied. For instance: A French vessel offers thirty cents a barrel for herrings (and unless they are very scarce the French never give any more), while an American offers one dollar; the settler dare not supply the American until he has previously satisfied the Frenchman's wants. Should a settler seek to evade the rules by baiting the American after nightfall, he is often detected by the naval patrol boats, and his skiff-load of herring is thrown overboard as a punishment, or he is haled before the British Commander and threatened with the direst penalties if he again attempts to pursue this means of securing a livelihood. Should the herrings have actually been put on board an interdicted vessel, armed boats are sent to her and the skipper is compelled to give up the fish, the settler being forced, at the same time, to refund the money received therefor. Each year supplies its quota of incidents like these, of wholly unwarranted interference with the rights of American citizens, of attempts to prevent the exercise of independent trading privileges by the fishermen of a nation to whom the fullest liberties were conceded by the Power which claims, and should efficiently exercise, the sovereignty of the region.

Of course, all these proceedings have not a shadow of legality, and in the past two years the Americans have refused to be trodden under foot, as was the practice previously. That the French claim to exclusive fishing rights is baseless is proved by the fact

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that, in spite of the French treaties made in 1783, Great Britain ceded the Americans full rights in 1818. The American fishermen do not realize their power on that coast. If a resolute skipper would bring a herring seine from Gloucester and let it down into the water at Bay St. George he could defy the warships to touch him, and would do more to bring the whole question to a head than all the *pourparlers* of diplomats in a decade. Twenty years ago some Gloucester skippers caused an entanglement in Fortune Bay over the seining of herring, which cost the British Government $100,000 as compensation. The wonder is that the same policy has not long ere this been put into effect on the Treaty Coast, as the American vessels are often delayed so long in obtaining herring that they meet very heavy losses.

To them, therefore, a settlement of the question of French rights on the coast will be very welcome, as it will enable them to avail themselves without hindrance of the concession really most valuable to them. As matters are at present, no one knows when some new and preposterous claim will be advanced by the French the effect of which may be to stultify the rights conceded to the United States by the Convention of 1818. The French are every year becoming fewer, and their final departure from the shore would be hailed with delight by all. Their occupation of it has blasted the prospects of the fairest quarter of the island, impoverished a large section of its population and kept the people in perpetual ferment and unrest, besides endangering the commercial stability of the island and the profitable pursuit of a large industry by its people.

On the other hand, the people of Newfoundland cannot afford to risk any interruption of their friendly relations with the Americans, who are their best customers. Open-hearted and generous-handed, it is scarcely surprising that they should be welcome where the French are barely endured. The presence of the one means peace and prosperity; the continuance of the obsolete "rights" of the other renders it certain that the vexatious controversies of the past will be continued in the future. The privileges which the Americans possess are condensed into a demand for bait, which the people of Newfoundland are glad to supply; the liberties which the French outrage are used so as to cripple every industry along a whole seaboard, settled by 14,000 colonists.

P. T. McGrath.

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THE PUBLIC DEBT OF RUSSIA.

BY ARTHUR RAFFALOVICH, AGENT IN FRANCE OF THE RUSSIAN MINISTER OF FINANCE.

I.

RUSSIA'S general situation has greatly improved of late years. This is true not only in regard to her territory, to her population, which now numbers over 126,000,000, and to her natural wealth, developed or latent. Other factors have contributed to strengthen her prestige. The influence exercised by Russia is one eminently pacific. The progress made by Russia in the domain of industry, in the working of her great coal and mineral beds—an activity which gives a truly American aspect to certain regions in her vast territory—has been rendered possible by this policy of external peace. Foreign capital has played an important part in this development, in this evolution from purely agricultural interests toward other branches of activity. This capital has been attracted by the high rate of remuneration which it could obtain in Russian industrial centres; its entry into the country was facilitated by the monetary reform, which tended above all to give stability to Russian money and has replaced the paper standard by that of gold. The policy of protection has also played its part in the rapid creation of Russian industry.

Energetic efforts have been made to increase the number of railroads in the country, to cover it with a tighter network, and also to unite it with the Pacific coast by an unbroken iron ribbon crossing Siberia and Manchuria. Every necessity of the life of a nation finds its expression in the Budget, which is the reflection of present needs and of the general economic condition, and also has its part in the heritage of the past. Thus the study of the public finance of a country is not so dry as is usually supposed, when pursued from this point of view; and in that study one again finds the proof of the great progress which Russia has made. It has had

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the good fortune to have a succession of Ministers of Finance who, with various kinds of character and temperament, have inaugurated and conducted to a successful conclusion the re-establishment of the State finances on a firm basis, the alleviation of the burden of debt, and the monetary reform. M. de Witte, the present Minister of Finance, is the one among them who has the broadest views, the most exact understanding of the general needs, and who represents the best type of the energetic statesman. But it would be unjust not to recognize the merits of two of his immediate predecessors: M. Bunge, who prepared the reform of the taxes, who incorporated in the Budget certain items which up to his time had been excluded therefrom, and who abolished the poll-tax; and M. Vischnegradsky, who began the accumulation of the gold reserve, undertook with such success the conversions of the Russian debt and saw the chronic deficit come to an end.

II.

On the 1st of January, 1899, the debt was increased to 6,108 millions of rubles (a ruble is 51½ cents), half of which sum represents the engagements to pay in foreign money; since the accomplishment of currency reform, which brought Russia round to a gold standard, all the interest may be considered as paid at a fixed and stable rate of exchange. The annual service—interest and sinking fund together—rose, for 1899, to 279 millions of rubles; that is, to a figure a little higher than that of 1895. It must not be forgotten that, in this total of 279 millions, more than a hundred millions are to be put down to the account of the railroads, and another sum of thirty-five millions is due to loans contracted for the redemption of the peasants.

On the 1st of January, 1898, when the administration of the debt required 272 millions of rubles for interest and redemption, the debt comprised:

Loans Contracted for Needs of the State.

	Rubles.
3 per cent	496,000,000
3½ per cent	23,000,000
3.79 per cent	104,000,000
4 per cent	2,539,000,000
4½ per cent	217,000,000
5 per cent	275,000,000
6 per cent	38,000,000
Other loans	58,000,000
Without interest	175,000,000
Total	3,925,000,000

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Loans Made on Account of Railroads.

	Rubles.
3 per cent	103,000,000
3½ per cent	126,000,000
4 per cent	1,959,000,000
4½ per cent	193,000,000
5 per cent	33,000,000
Total	2,414,000,000

Thus the greater part of this debt is in the four per cents. The value is at present at par; it was above par before the rise in the cost of capital, which has affected the state funds of all countries. The same is true of the three per cents, which, like the English and German consols, have gone down, having fallen to 90½, from 96.

A great part of the public debt of Russia is secured by the most real and substantial assets, the network of state railroads, which may be estimated at about three billion rubles.

III.

The first period of the Russian debt ends with the reign of Catherine II. Before the great Empress there was the epoch of the infancy of the Russian power. Public credit did not exist. The sovereign obtained the means for prosecuting his struggles against his neighbors and the independent princes, by loans negotiated with the convents, by the creation of monopolies and by farming out the sources of revenue and debasing the currency. In the seventeenth century imposts and custom-house duties were established. At different times it was attempted to get money from foreign powers, particularly from England and from Holland; but in return these two countries demanded commercial privileges altogether too considerable. In 1656 Czar Alexis received a Venetian embassy which came to solicit his assistance against the Turks, and it was this embassy which was responsible for the attempt to obtain a loan from the rich Italian Republic. Russian envoys embarked at Archangel on a Dutch boat, and made the then prodigious voyage to the Mediterranean; but no agreement could be effected with Venice. No better success was had with Charles II. and the London merchants in 1662, on account of the lack of sufficient guarantee. In the reign of Peter the Great the Budget gradually rose from three to ten millions of rubles; the deficits were met by the aid of fresh taxes and new monopolies. Peter the Great tampered anew with the currency.

A second period in the history of the Russian debt extends

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from the accession of Catherine II. to the end of the Napoleonic wars (1768-1816). Russia had become a centralized State, whose power, already acquired, was to be solidified and extended. The debt furnished a part of the indispensable means to this end. Three-quarters of the public expense at the accession of Catherine II. were devoted to the maintenance of the army. New taxes were designed and issues of paper money inaugurated. In spite of the best intentions, in spite of the decision to establish a metallic basis, the Government was at its wit's end in 1770; in 1796 there were 156 millions in circulation, and the loss in exchange was considerable. Catherine II. succeeded in procuring money in Holland. The first loan of two million rubles was made in 1769. An imperial ukase gave as guarantee the whole of the receipts of the State, notably the imposts from Esthonia and Livonia; and the sovereign gave her word of honor that, in the event of a war with Holland, neither the principal nor the arrears of the debt would be confiscated. The loan was to be divided into obligations of 500,000 florins, which the bankers might break up into bonds of 1,000 florins. The annual interest was to be five per cent.; the placing of the loan, redeemable by lot in ten years, confided at first to the Smet Bank, failed. Messrs. Hope and Company were called upon, and they promised their aid for future operations. An advance of a million piastres was arranged for with the Marquis Maruzzi of Genoa. The war indemnity paid by the Turks made it possible to repay this loan, and a part of the Dutch loan, the rest of which was converted into four per cents. From 1774 to 1796, numerous financial operations were transacted with the Dutch through the instrumentality of Hope, with the aid of de Wolff at Antwerp, and de Regny at Genoa. Nineteen Dutch loans and three or four Genoese ones furnished the money for military campaigns, for the redemption of loans due or for conversions. In 1796, the debt had risen to 41.4 millions of foreign obligations, 82.4 millions of domestic and 156.7 millions without interest (assignats); that is altogether 280.5 million rubles. Paul I. endeavored to re-establish the State finances, and to raise the current value of the ruble without renouncing the issue of paper money. He consolidated the different foreign debts of Russia, and, in place of various existing obligations, Hope and Company received a single bond for 88 1-3 million florins, bearing five per cent. interest, and redeemable in twelve years.

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The first fifteen years of the reign of Alexander I. (1801-1825) were full of difficulties for the treasury, the Napoleonic wars absorbing vast sums. The presses unceasingly printed paper money; in 1810 the amount of this reached 579 million rubles, and a ruble was not worth more than 44 kopecks. The Council of State being consulted, declared that the forced circulation and the issuing of paper currency constituted the heaviest of imposts; it recommended that an increase of taxes should be made with great caution, that rigid economy should be practised in public expenditure, and, above all, that publicity should be given to the operations of the treasury. Political complications and the war came to cut short these proposed and decreed reforms. The consolidated debt was not much decreased during the years from 1801 to 1817. The authorities redeemed with one hand and borrowed with the other. In 1810 was created an imperial commission of the sinking fund, to procure the sums necessary for its operations by the sale of domains, which consisted mainly of immense forests.

The sale progressed so slowly that in 1812 it was resolved to reinforce the resources of the sinking fund, and certain imposts and rents were appropriated. All these resources, however, were absorbed by the expense of the war which broke out anew. Subsidies from England replaced foreign loans. At the time when the Russian troops had passed the frontiers, it was necessary to provide metal money in place of the paper currency circulating in Russia; and for this the help of England was useful.

After the re-establishment of peace in Europe, it was attempted to provide some remedy against the inconvenience of an excessive quantity of State notes. Loans were made at home and abroad, and with this money the number of assignats was reduced; by 1824 247 millions of them had been cancelled. In 1817 was instituted the council for the establishment of State credit, which was to control the action of various Government institutions, as well as the commission of the sinking fund. A great ledger of the public debt was organized, which comprised the foreign debt, the perpetual internal debt and the reimbursable debt. In order to withdraw the assignats, several foreign loans were concluded, and in 1824 the debt amounted to 383 millions.

The wars which occupied the period of 1828 to 1834 disturbed the equilibrium of the Budget; a deficiency arose and it was necessary to make an appeal to credit. On the 1st of January, 1834, the

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debt had risen to 493 millions. In six years it increased 120 millions. Military expenses had to be met, large sums had to be devoted to the maintenance of the army, and the construction of the railway from Moscow to St. Petersburg bore heavily upon the State finances. In 1841 a loan with Hope of 25 millions at four per cent. was made. In 1842 occurred the first loan made through a Russian intermediary, the house of Stieglitz and Company, and this, as well as loans made in 1843, 1844 and 1847, was devoted to the Nicholas Railroad.

In 1839 the Government took measures to reform the fiduciary circulation; the silver ruble, valued at 350 assignat-kopecks, became the money unit.

On the 1st of January, 1848, the Russian debt stood at 828 millions. From 1848 to 1853 Russia intervened in Hungary, and the Western conflict arose; during this time, she concluded a loan of five and a half million pounds, sterling, with Barings. By the 1st of January, 1853, the debt had risen to 1,034 millions, of which 300 millions consisted of notes of credit. The State receipts amounted to 248 millions; among the expenses, the debt absorbed 44 millions, the war 82 millions, the navy 17 millions, and roads of communication 19 millions. The gold and silver reserve from the funds on exchange rose to 123 millions.

The period from 1853 to 1877 commenced with the war of the Crimea and finished with the last struggle against the Turks. From the point of view of interior politics, this period was marked by the great reforms that are the glory of the reign of Alexander II. The expenses of the war and of the army were met by loans and by the issue of paper money. In four years the amount of notes of credit had grown to 420 millions, as a natural consequence of the suspension of cash payments of notes. From 1857 to 1866 Russia was at peace with the world. She was absorbed in the enfranchisement of the serfs, and in reforms, administrative, judicial and fiscal (the publishing of the State Budget and the reorganization of administration in 1862), and in the development of her network of railroads. In 1858, the establishments of State credit were replaced by the Bank of Russia, destined to develop commerce and industry, and endowed with the privilege of issuing notes. The Government consolidated different floating debts by the issue of four per cent. perpetuals at home, and it contracted several loans (three per cents. issued in 1859 at 65, four and a half

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per cents. issued at 90 in 1860) to strengthen the bank's reserve. It endeavored to return to cash payments, and issued in 1862 at 91¼ a loan of 15 million pounds, sterling, with this aim. Unfortunately, the insurrection in Poland frustrated these good intentions. About the same time the freeing of the peasants was marked by a bond issue, the State undertaking to float them and receive in return the redemption payments.

Gradually, 400 million rubles were issued, which at the beginning were valued at at least 65, and have been for a long time at par, and have been used for conversion. The credit of Russia was not high at this period; several loans concluded with foreign banks were often but half taken up. The State had recourse to credit in order to increase the resources of the Bank of Russia, and to continue the most important lines of the railway between Moscow and the Black Sea.

The ten years from 1866 to 1876 are important on account of the establishment of the network of railroads, which could not have been accomplished save for foreign capital. The Minister of Finance, M. de Reutern, devoted all his energy to this purpose, so necessary to the development of natural resources, and so well did he succeed that in place of 2,000 kilometres of exploited road, all that existed on his entrance into office, there were in 1876 nearly 20,000 kilometres in full activity. In 1867 and 1869 two loans, amounting together to 577 million francs, were made on hard conditions (four per cents. at 61 and 63) to facilitate the sale of the Nicholas Railroad, and to create a special fund for the purpose of constructing State roads and ports. M. de Reutern had an ingenious idea which the Italian Government afterward adopted. He made the State serve as an intermediary between the Russian companies and foreign exchanges. He made advances to the companies, *ad valorem*, on the obligations that they were authorized to arrange, and he recouped himself for these advances by issuing consolidated obligations the moment he judged it opportune to do so. From 1870 to 1875 there were issued, under these conditions and through the intervention of the Rothschilds, five series of consolidated obligations of the Russian railroads (the first four at five and the last at four and a half per cent.), making in all 69 million pounds, and at prices higher and higher, from 76 in 1870 to 91 in 1875. Two other issues of the same sort were made in 1880 and 1884. All these bonds were redeemable by degrees, and

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they have all been converted into a fund of four per cents. The war with Turkey showed the great importance of these 20,000 kilometres of railroads. In 1877, in spite of the blockade of the Black Sea and the fact that the railroads were occupied with the transportation of troops, Russia was able to export 60 million hectolitres of grain. The efforts made to improve the financial situation and to raise the credit of the State were crowned with success in 1876: the Russian five per cents. were cited at 106 on the Bourse at Paris, and the ruble was worth about three and a half francs.*

Foreign political complications again occurred to disturb this. From 1876 to 1881 the extraordinary military expenses due to the war were 1,020 millions. The resources realized by the treasury consisted of 904 millions in loans, and to this must be added the balances of the closed Budgets, and 25 millions, the surplus receipts of 1878.

The immediate expenses of the war were covered by the issue of paper money; the treasury received as much as 525 million rubles (the maximum received in August, 1879). On the 28th of July, 1880, the floating debt was reduced to 352 millions by Gen. Greig, who used for this reduction the disposable funds remaining from the Oriental loans. Unfortunately, from August to December the floating debt was augmented by the issue of paper money and amounted to 417 millions. M. Abara, who replaced Gen. Greig, had the courage to renounce the resources arising from the printing of the State notes and at the same time he engaged to pay back in eight annual instalments the debt of the treasury to the Bank of Russia. He remitted to the bank 173 millions, one-half in five per cent. bonds, and 243 million rubles in notes of credit, of which 87 millions were destroyed.

From 1880 to 1887, Russia proceeded by a series of financial operations, sometimes at home and sometimes abroad, to construct the railroads without diminishing the resources of the treasury. In 1885 the appearance of the Budget was modified by the incorporation of the payments made for the redemption of the serfs. On the 1st of January, 1888, the total debt of Russia amounted to 5,469,739,746 rubles, this including the increase of the debt without interest. The original total had been 6,572 millions,

*The budget of 1875 closed with a surplus of 33 millions. (See my book "*Les Finances de la Russie depuis la Guerre d'Orient.*" Guillaumen & Cie, 1884.)

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of which 1,102 millions had been gradually redeemed. The annual mechanical decrease, resulting from the fact that loans had been contracted with a clause stipulating for repayment by degrees, has played an important rôle in the question of the Russian public debt.

IV.

A Minister of Finance can alleviate the burden of annual charges by efficacious means: the conversions of the debt. When in 1875 the credit of Russia appeared to justify the current price of 106 for the consolidated debt, the issue was too recent to permit of a conversion; the war with Turkey destroyed the work of M. de Reutern. Eleven or twelve years afterward circumstances once more became favorable; the German banks which had conducted the Hungarian conversion took the field in order to be charged with the Russian conversion. M. de Hausemann, president of *Der Rontogesellschaft,* of Berlin, came to offer his services to M. de Bunge. The discussion terminated in nothing; but, nevertheless, the conversion was not lost to sight, although it was necessary to wait two and a half years before effecting it. The European bankers watched operations as closely as did the Russian Government. Overtures were made in the autumn to M. de Vischnegradsky, who had replaced M. de Bunge. He skilfully profited by a variety of circumstances and by the rivalry among the bankers; he was able to attach his name to a number of conversions, the first of which, made with an understanding with the French financial establishments and French, English and Dutch bankers, raised 2,500 million francs in 1888 and 1889. The issue of new four per cent. loans, destined to replace the five per cent. bonds, was accomplished with very great success at prices continually rising from 86.45 to 91.50. In subsequent operations a closer approach was made to par value, and the redeemed railroad obligations, bearing a considerably higher interest, were replaced by three and a half per cent. bonds, put on the market at 94.50.

We will not go into the history of the conversions which continued in 1890 and the following years. If we take the indications from 1889 to 1897, as they appear in the reports of the imperial treasury, we see that the nominal amount of the loans converted during this period (loans at six per cent., five and a half per cent., five per cent., four and a half per cent.) reached

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2,779 million rubles, which have been replaced by four per cent. and three and a half per cent. obligations. To redeem and modify these obligations, 2,838 million rubles were spent. The loans issued have brought in, as increase in the principal of the debt, 260 millions. It must not be forgotten, indeed, that the first four per cents. were issued at 86, and that it was only gradually that par was arrived at. The new obligations have been for the most part exchanged for the obligations of converted loans. Out of 796 million rubles of gold, 30 millions were not presented for exchange, and have had to be reimbursed. Out of 1,584 millions credit, 1,454 millions accepted the conversion. These are figures which indicate the great success of the operations carried on by MM. Vischnegradsky and de Witte. As for certain small loans, they were also reimbursed from the resources of the treasury. It must be added that during this period, from 1889 to 1897, the sinking fund of the treasury rose to 306 million rubles for the debt at interest.

V.

The total of the Russian Budget has grown considerably during the last fifteen years, in consequence of its inclusion of expenditures and receipts which might be called *comptes d'ordre,* such as the construction of the State railways and the monopoly of the sale of spirits. If one compares the receipts of 1888 with those of 1897, one sees that they progressed from 873 million to 1,416 million rubles. In the Budget of 1888 the railroads figure to the amount of 75 millions; in that of 1897 they reach 293 millions. This same consideration, concerning the causes of the increase in the total of the Russian Budget, may be repeated in speaking of the public debt. As M. de Witte explains in his *exposé* of the Budget of 1899, the increase of the public debt during the last twelve years is entirely due to the large sums spent in the acquisition and construction of railways; that is to say, for a purpose which not only has the first importance for the general interest of the State and the economic development of the country, but which is directly productive from the financial point of view.

From the 1st of January, 1887, to the 1st of January, 1899, the public debt increased by 1,531 million rubles. Of this total, 1,139 millions represent the amount of loans contracted to redeem the railroad concessions and to continue the construction of the State lines. Furthermore, the State spent 425 million rubles of

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gold, above this sum, in that construction, calling upon the treasury. In consequence, for this period of twelve years the cost of the increase in the State railways (1,564 millions) exceeded by 33 millions the total increase in the debt. During this same period 440 million rubles were paid to the Bank of Russia to reduce its account with the treasury for its principal note issues.

The following is the situation of the Russian public debt at interest on the 1st of January, 1887, and on the same date in 1899 and 1900:

Balance of Nominal Capital.	Jan. 1, 1887.	Jan. 1, 1899.	Jan. 1, 1900.
Debt, in gold rubles, pounds sterling, etc.	1,975,476,600	3,062,147,280	3,045,105,611
Debt, in rubles (credit)	2,381,811,153	3,046,644,837	3,105,029,263
Total (in rubles at 2⅔ francs)	4,357,287,753	6,108,792,117	6,150,134,874

A very interesting chapter on the history of the debt would be that of the non-interest bearing portion, that is to say, the State notes issued with no metallic basis. This part of the debt has gradually been reduced, and in 1900 a final payment wiped out the last vestige of it, the treasury turning in to the bank gold to cover it. The fiduciary circulation has been reduced from 1,100 millions to 600 millions, and 250 millions of gold have been put in circulation in the country.

Thus, at the end of 1896, there were in circulation 37.5 million gold rubles; in 1897, 155 millions; in 1898, 445 millions; in 1899, 639 millions; in 1900, 684 millions. In 1899 and 1900, despite various unfavorable circumstances, such as the small receipts from commercial sources and the extraordinary expenses entailed by the difficulties in China, the exports of gold from Russia—that is to say, the diminution of the stock of gold—were only about 24.6+74.1 millions, a total of 98.7 millions. At the end of 1900, the stock of gold was about 807 millions at the Bank of Russia and in the vaults of the treasury, about 684 millions in circulation, altogether about 1,492 millions; with 222 millions of silver money (of which 58.3 millions was at the Bank and in the treasury), while the fiduciary circulation amounted to only 552 millions. The Bank had in reserve 77 millions of its own notes.

VI.

The credits opened in the Budget of 1899, for the administration of the debt, amounted to 276.6 million rubles; in that of

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1900 to 274.7 millions; in that of 1901 to 274.7 millions. (The expenses incurred in 1899 were only 275.7 millions.) Of late years, in the process of manipulating the debt, in consequence of various sorts of unifications, of purchases of railways, and of conversions, the amount to be paid annually has scarcely varied.

From 1896 on, Russia contracted no foreign debt, on account of the State, until May, 1901, when she placed a loan of 424 million francs, at four per cent., with the greatest success. The product of this loan was destined to reimburse the treasury for the advances made to the railway companies. The operation was very successful, the price of conversion, 98½, was not too high, the subscriptions were very numerous, the distribution being rated to benefit the public which buys bonds to keep, and to discourage speculation. The fact that the price of the new four per cents., which bear the name of Russian consolidated four per cents., and which are not convertible before 1915, has risen constantly since the issue and is now 102, shows the good standing of the new bonds.

Russia, whom her enemies never cease to represent as overwhelmed by her financial necessities, negotiated her last loan, in 1901, at what she judged the most opportune moment, from the point of view of the market and of her own convenience. The reception given to this operation shows that her credit is absolutely intact, and that Russia receives from foreign capitalists the confidence which her solvability and her respect for the obligations which she undertakes merit. The solicitations of bankers and offers to arrange loans have not been wanting in St. Petersburg, but they have been resisted, and the wise principles of financial administration practised which, tending to constitute considerable reserves, enable her to face sudden emergencies. Thanks to these reserves, formed for the most part from the surplus of the ordinary Budgets, Russia has been able to almost entirely complete the Trans-Siberian railway, to increase her navy, to equip her army with new weapons, to aid the peasants affected by the bad harvests, to repay to the Bank of Russia the non-interest-bearing debt, and to meet the Chinese expenses in 1900.

ARTHUR RAFFALOVICH.

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SOME NEW VOLUMES OF VERSE.*

BY W. D. HOWELLS.

THE intelligence and temperance with which the late James C. Onderdonk has done his work in the "History of American Verse" are such as to deepen, at each page of his book, the regret one must feel for his early death. We are told, in the introduction to his posthumous volume, that if the author had lived the chapter on the latest of our poets would probably have been enlarged and revised; and in taking up some of their latest poems I have been haunted by a wish, which I cannot dismiss, that he might have dealt with them, and could have remained to deal with other new poets as fast as they manifested themselves in new poems. Justice is in all cases difficult, though praise is easy, and blame is easy; but justice is most of all difficult in the case of those whom we must judge straight from our consciences and not roundabout through our acquaintance with the judgment of others. I think Mr. Onderdonk was peculiarly fitted to render the direct sort of justice, for he brings it to bear even upon writers who have been judged so often that they seem to pass sentence on themselves as soon as they are named. He begins with our beginnings, and he ends with our endings, or so nearly that the poets of the last decade of the nineteenth century receive the same impartial, the same sincere, the same courteous, study that he bestows on the poets of the first decade of the seventeenth century. He shows himself a connoisseur of poetry who can feel passionately but

* "A History of American Verse (1610-1897)." By James C. Onderdonk. McClurg & Co.
"Lincoln, and Other Poems." By Edwin Markham. McClure, Phillips & Co.
"Poems of the Past and Present." By Thomas Hardy. Harper & Brothers.
"Weeds by the Wall. Verses." By Madison Cawein. John P. Morton & Co.
"A Gage of Youth. Lyrics from the Lark and Other Poems." By Gelett Burgess. Small, Maynard & Co.
"More Animals." By Oliver Herford. Charles Scribner's Sons.

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speak dispassionately, who can cherish a grateful appreciation of beauty without a sentimental overflow, who can recognize a fault without the schoolmasterly impulse to punish it. I might name things in which I disagreed with him, but in most things I have agreed with him, and thought it to my credit that I did so. All his criticisms, I should say in the large way which I might later wish to hedge from, are based upon reasons which he gives, and upon grounds which he proves solid. I should like to allege other instances, but time and space are both short, and I must content myself with alleging for sole evidence the passages which he devotes to the study of Longfellow. His judgment of a poet, whose genius was at once so simple and so fine, so universal and so exceptional, is as nearly the measure of it as it has ever got; and it is most where one reads those passages of his book, that one feels the bereavement of our literature in his loss.

I.

I like to indulge the fancy of this intelligent and temperate critic taking up Mr. Edwin Markham's "Second Book of Verse" and sharing my own pleasure in finding it better than his first. In "Lincoln and Other Poems" there is no Man with a Hoe, who might have been expected there, and perhaps feared; but Mr. Onderdonk would have been glad to recognize that this Man was present in the qualities which gave the poet his hold on the common heart, while absent in the defects that made his hold slip from the uncommon head. Here is something of the eloquence, tending to elocution, with much more than the earlier proportion of the poetry which neither head nor heart can deny in Mr. Markham's former volume. We are still a good deal exhorted, as we need to be, unless we are left to forget the misery which the world is nearly as full of as ever; but we are charmed a good deal more. The moral level of the verse is as lofty as it was before, but we have not the same sense of jolting from peak to peak. In the appeals to humanity there is something more of consideration for human nature: not quite the human nature that those imagine who would have it remain as bad as it is, or worse, but the human nature which will not stand too much girding up, and is better at making fresh starts than long runs in the right direction. Possibly, I read these ameliorations into the book, but I will abate nothing of my confidence as to its positive excellences, for I could

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prove them from it much more often than these envious limits will let me. I am sure that I feel a sort of dynamic picturesqueness in the notion of

"the Matterhorn
That shoulders out the sky;"

and the line that tells me Lincoln

"Held the long purpose like a growing tree,"

really adds to the history of the man. The picturesqueness prevails again in the statement that

"he went down
As when a kingly cedar, green with boughs,
Goes down with a great shout upon the hills,
And leaves a lonesome place against the sky."

and here again the picturesqueness is most dynamic.

I could wish, indeed, that Mr. Markham, in saying that "the Norn-Mother"

"took the tried clay of the common road,"

for the stuff of her greatest son, had not forgotten how Lowell had already said that Nature (a more familiar name for the Norn-Mother, though not so mouth-filling), threw aside her "Old-World moulds,"

"And choosing sweet clay from the breast
Of the unexhausted West,
With stuff untainted shaped a hero new,"

just as I could wish he had remembered that Gray asked

"Can storied urn or animated bust
Back to its mansion call the fleeting breath?"

when he declares that

"The soaring pillar and the epic boast,
The flaring pageant and the storied pile,
May parley with Oblivion awhile."

When he writes

"The pomp, the arch, the scroll, cannot beguile
The ever-circling Destinies that must
Mix king and clown into one rabble dust,"

he seems to blend an echo of the Elegy with that of an elder elegy:

"Sceptre and crown
Must both lie down
And in the dust be equal made
With the poor, crooked scythe and spade."

But no one whose praise is worth having, or whose blame is to be feared, will accuse our poet of more than a reverberation of the nerves reporting itself in his verse, though even this is a pity; and it is to be more regretted because such a great line as

"May parley with Oblivion awhile"

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is not only of an unimpeachable indigeneity, but is of a growth that may be said rather to abound with him. There are many fine passages in his book, and there is hardly any faultiest poem but is redeemed by some high thought, some splendid turn of phrase. These often touch the heart as well as illumine the mind, so that one almost ascribes merit to one's self when in "The Sower" one thrills at the magnanimous words:

> "The grime of this bruised hand keeps tender white
> The hands that never labor, day or night;
> His feet that only know the field's rough floors
> Send lordly steps down echoing corridors."

It is with a fellow feeling yet more mystical and sweet, that, turning from the lurid picture of "The Wall Street Pit," one rests one's soul in a glimpse of "stiller ways," where the lives of men "grow softly as the apples on a bough." "A Mendocino Memory" is a lovely idyl, full of youth and gladness, and "Which Was a Dream" suggests mysteries "deeper than did ever plummet sound." In such things Mr. Markham attests his quality as poet; and the poet is more precious than the preacher, though the world is better, or always just going to be better, for preaching. I do not say that good people resent his appeals and reproaches, but the bad people might be humored a little, and persuaded that the poet means them no harm by his preaching. There are signs, amusing signs, however, that those who have most resented it, and most bidden the poet go to because of it, are resenting it less. Some of the reviews of his new book say that there is a glad note of optimism in it, as if optimism were a virtue in itself or pessimism a vice; and I would have him realize that such reviewers only mean that they have got used to his pessimism, if it was pessimism; they do not know, poor souls! Yet, and yet, if the little piece with which I shall leave him were to be his farewell to the pulpit, I should not be sorry in one wise, though still I should be sorry:

WIND OF THE FALL.

> "I hear that wail in the windy pine,
> And I suddenly know;
> It wakes in my breast a dream divine,
> And a sacred woe.
> I heard that cry from your spirit then,
> Oh, wind of the Fall!
> I too have carried the grief of men;
> I have felt it all."

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II.

Whatever any one may say of Mr. Markham's optimism, no one can say of Mr. Thomas Hardy's pessimism, that it is less in his second volume than it was in his first, and I, for my part, could not wish it less, for pessimism may be a very good thing, if not a cheerful. It is apt, at least, to be spontaneous and honest after one gets to be fifty, and ashamed of the follies of forty—in others. There is, possibly, too much unreasoned gayety in a world where death is, and youth fades and love passes, often before death comes. Pessimism can commonly give a reason for itself, and optimism at most only the excuse that it is a fine day, or its dinner has agreed with it. But even pessimism without a cause, if it results in poetry like Mr. Hardy's, is justifiable, and if it is his increased pessimism which has made "Poems of the Past and Present" better than "Wessex Poems," one must wish it to abound in him more and more. In the meantime, I have been reading his new book with the solid comfort which sometimes only solid gloom can bring, and I have felt very curiously in his poems the qualities which, in more dramatic appointments, affect me finally from his fiction; it is as if I had been reading all his novels over again. The humor, indeed, except in the sparest glimmers, is absent, for one can hardly call the grim mocking in certain of the pieces by that kindly name, that almost weakly sentimental name; and there is no compensation in the way of the smoother and sleeker shapes of beauty, though if one likes such forms of it as do not know themselves from truth, one will not want for joy in these joyless portraits and landscapes. There is not even the small sum of impersonated feeling that there was in the "Wessex Poems"; the thinking is straight from the poet to the reader, with seldom an interpreter in character or story, though there is now and then a sardonic allegory, and now and then an interlude of such an eery mirthsomeness that one could wish it less merry or less ghastly. For illustration, I commend to the robuster sort of reader that peculiar "riddle of the painful earth" which the poet calls "God-Forgotten." I must not risk shrivelling this sensitive page by giving it here entire, and may only intimate that the poet fancies the Creator to have forgotten that He had made the earth and to be recalling the fact with difficulty.

. . . . . .

"'It lost my interest from the first,
My aims therefor succeeding ill;

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Haply it died of doing as it durst?' "—
" 'Lord, it existeth still.' "

" 'Dark, then, its life! For not a cry
Of aught it bears do I now hear;
Of its own act the threads were snapt whereby
Its plaints had reached mine ear.

" 'It used to ask for gifts of good,
Till came its severance self-entailed,
When sudden silence on that side ensued,
And has till now prevailed.

" 'And other orbs have kept in touch;
Their voicings reach me speedily:
Thy people took upon them overmuch
In sundering them from me!

" 'And it is strange—though sad enough—
Earth's race should think that one whose call
Frames, daily, shining spheres of flawless stuff
Must heed their tainted ball!

. . . . . .

" 'Thou should'st have learnt that *Not to Mend*
For Me could mean but *Not to Know;*
Hence, Messengers! and straightway put an end
To what men undergo.' "

"Homing at dawn, I thought to see
One of the Messengers standing by.
—Oh, childish thought! . . . Yet oft it comes to me,
When trouble hovers nigh."

There is, possibly, a faint ray of hope in the closing lines of this unflattering poem, but it is not such as to be sharply discordant with the prevailing mood of Mr. Hardy's volume. He writes verse, as he writes prose, like no one else, and those who do not enjoy his thinking will hardly enjoy his singing. His strong lines have small disposition to trip upon the tongue, but such a piece as "The Ruined Maid" haunts the ear with its crazy lilt, while it pierces the heart with a meaning all too sane.

III.

One never praises an author for certain things without afterwards doubting if they were the characteristic things, or whether just the reverse might not be said. Praise is, in fact, a delicate business, and I, who am rather fond of dealing in it, never feel it quite safe. Not only is it questionable at the moment, but the later behavior of the author is sometimes such that one is sorry

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not to have made it blame. It is always with a shrinking, which I try to hide from the public, that I take up the fresh venture of a poet whom I have once bet on. But there is a joy when I find that I have not lost my wager which is full compensation for the anxiety suffered. This joy has lately been mine in the latest little book of Mr. Madison Cawein, whose work I long ago confessed my pleasure in. I am not sure that he has since transcended the limits which he then seemed to give himself as the lover, the prophet, of beauty in the woods and waters and skies of the southern Mid-West. I do not know that he need have done more than unlock the riches of emotion within these limits. What I am sure of is that in "Weeds by the Wall" he has more deeply charmed me with an art perfected from that I felt in "Blooms of the Berry" ten or fifteen years since. Many little books of his have come (I hope not also gone) between the first and last, and none of them has failed to make me glad of his work; and now again I am finding the same impassioned moods in the same impassive presences. To my knowledge, no such nature-poems have been written within the time since Mr. Cawein began to write as his are, or from such an intimacy with the "various language" which nature speaks. There are other good poems in the book, poems which would have made reputes in the eighteenth century, and which it would be a shame not to own good in the twentieth; but those which speak for "The Cricket," "A Twilight Moth," "The Grasshopper," "The Tree Toad," "The Screech Owl," "The Chipmunk," "Drouth," "Before the Rain," and the like, are in a voice which interprets the very soul of what we call the inarticulate things, though they seem to have enunciated themselves so distinctly to this poet. It is cheap to note his increasing control of his affluent imagery and the growing mastery that makes him so fine an artist. These things were to be expected from his early poems, but what makes one think he will go far and long, and outlive both praise and blame, is the blending of a sense of the Kentucky nature with a sense of the Kentucky civilization in such a poem as "Feud":

> "A mile of lane,—hedged-high with ironweeds
> And dying daisies,—white with sun, that leads
> Downward into a wood; through which a stream
> Steals like a shadow; over which is laid
> A bridge of logs, worn deep by many a team,
> Sunk in the tangled shade.

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. . . . . .

Fields over which a path, o'erwhelmed with burrs
And ragweeds, noisy with the grasshoppers,
Leads,—lost, irresolute as paths the cows
Wear through the woods,—unto a woodshed; then,
With wrecks of windows, to a huddled house,
Where men have murdered men.

"A house whose tottering chimney, clay and rock,
Is seamed and crannied; whose lame door and lock
Are bullet bored; around which here and there
Are sinister stains. . . .
Within is emptiness: the sunlight falls
On faded journals papering the walls,
On advertisement chromos, torn with time,
Around a hearth where wasps and spiders build.—
The house is dead; meseems that night of crime
It too was shot and killed."

"Civilization" may not be quite the word for the condition of things suggested here, but there can be no doubt of the dramatic and the graphic power that suggests it, and that imparts a personal sense of the tragic squalor, the sultry drouth, the forlorn wickedness of it all. By such a way as this lies Mr. Cawein's hope of rise from Nature up to Man, if it is up; and also, as I perceive too late, lies confusion for the critic who said that the poet does not transcend the limits he once seemed to give himself.

IV.

With Mr. Gelett Burgess's book I have not quite the embarrassment I had in taking up Mr. Cawein's. I am at least not committed to it by any earlier praise, and I may say what I please of it, without having to look after my consistency. The best thing in it is, I think, a certain "Sestina of Youth and Age," which has a sweetness and tenderness of its own, and expresses a phase of the common experience not recognized before:

"My father died when I was all too young,
And he too old, too crowded with his care,
For me to know he knew my hot, fierce hopes.
Youth sees wide chasms between itself and age—
How could I think he too had lived my life?
My dreams were all of war, and his of rest."

That is a beautiful poem, from first to last, truly felt and rendered in a spirit of fine repose. If I say it is the best thing in Mr. Burgess's book, I hope that I do not dispraise the other pieces, which, indeed, I wish had made room among them for more

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of those gayer caprices of "The Lark," more associated with the author's manner and more characteristic of his fancy.

V.

Mr. Oliver Herford braves it out where Mr. Burgess seems to shrink from owning his antic muse, and in a book of "More Animals" he gives us again the wise nonsense that edifies and consoles. If it is by a *tour de force* that one groups him with the poets, he is worth that outlay of strength, and the poets ought to be glad of his company. His book is at least a new volume of verse, and is of a freshness which the critic, panting from his exertion, might overstate, but probably would not if he meant its delightful audacity, its perennial unexpectedness. Mr. Herford's humor, both of pen and pencil, is personal to himself, like Mr. Gilbert's, but it hospitably insists upon making itself the reader's at the same time, for it is difficult not to learn "The Animals" by heart. In fact, you are rather obliged to do that, if you will not have them tagging after you in fragments and haunting your memory piece-meal. Among them all, I believe I like the *Gnu* best, for reasons that will appear when I repeat it:

"Beware, my dear, if ever you
Should chance to come across a gnu.
You may be fair, and tall and svelte,
But do not hope the gnu to melt.
You may be gentle, kind and true,
These things mean nothing to the gnu.
You may love beasts, both great and small,
That won't affect the gnu at all.
You may be generous, you may
Subscribe to the S. P. C. A.
All this of no avail will be,
The only thing's to climb a tree;
And if there is no tree to climb,
Don't say you were not warned in time."

Yet, when I have tried to account for my liking the *Gnu* best, the *Octopus*, the *Shark*, the *Dodo* and all the rest rise up to reproach me; and without the picture of the young lady swarming up the palm, I do not feel that the mere literary testimony of the *Gnu* quite justifies me. It is much simpler to make my escape by owning them all good than to insist upon a distinction that may seem invidious. Whatever Mr. Herford touches, at least in the animal kingdom, he gives something of the amiable grace of his own fantastic spirit, so that the most dreadful of his beasts seem so half in joke.

W. D. HOWELLS.

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